

THE DIARY OF WILLIAM FREDERIC BARNETT IN SEARCH OF LEICHHARDT

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ABSTRACT

Sixteen years after the disappearance of Leichhardt's fourth expedition, its fate was still a live issue. The eminent botanist Dr Ferdinand von Mueller could not accept that all members of the expedition had perished.

In 1864 Duncan McIntyre of Glengower via Castlemaine, Victoria, accompanied by William Frederic Barnett of Sandhurst, was searching for a sheep run in northwest Queensland. He found two old horses on the Dugald River (not known to have been left by any more recent explorer) and a little later two trees marked 'L' on the western bank of the Flinders River. He supposed he had found traces of the lost Leichhardt.

Dr Mueller was firmly convinced that he had, and persuaded the ladies of Melbourne to raise a sum of money to finance an expedition, led by McIntyre, to the locality. The expedition failed through no fault of McIntyre's and he in fact died in the field of 'gulf fever' on 4 June 1866.

Barnett, who had been with him for part of the expedition, was eventually appointed to command the expedition in December 1866 and between January and May 1867 carried on the search for Leichhardt, without success. His diary of proceedings in 1867 (hitherto unpublished) forms the principal subject matter of this paper.

What follows also reveals that the diarist, William Frederic Barnett, is not undeserving of a place in the annals of exploration in Australia. A shadowy, virtually unknown figure, the research generated by his diary has revealed him as a man who possessed courage, powers of endurance, leadership, and loyalty. These qualities do not appear to have had the recognition they deserved, either in his lifetime or afterwards.

INTRODUCTION

Included in the manuscript collections of the Queensland Museum, under accession no. 67/6114, is a manuscript diary. The catalogue card reads —

BARNETT, FRED. (Manuscript)
Leichhardt Search Expedition sent out by the ladies of Victoria. After Duncan McIntyre's death 1866, Barnett formed a party and continued the search.

Then follows a physical description of the diary, which includes the information that it commences on 20 January 1867 and concludes on 27 May 1867.

No provenance of the diary can be located in Museum records. It appears, however, that it was received sometime prior to November 1933 whilst the late Heber A. Longman was director and at a time when the Museum was desperately short of staff and funds.

It has been found that on 21 November 1933 Longman sent a type-script copy of the diary to the Mitchell Library in Sydney. He mentioned in his covering letter that Mr Arthur Jose (1), a mutual friend of the Mitchell Librarian (Miss Ida Leeson) and himself, had suggested that a copy of

the diary should be made for the Mitchell Library. The relevant correspondence has been turned up, but unfortunately throws no light either on the provenance of the diary.

In isolation the diary has little significance, but once the events which brought it into existence are led forward, it assumes importance as the terminal record of what appears to have been the last nineteenth century official effort to find traces of the lost Leichhardt expedition, which had been missing since 1848.

There are a number of other factors also which have to be taken into account in assessing the significance of the diary. There are the foundation of a new colony and the search for new pastoral runs involved. Furthermore one sees the value of exploration, quite apart from any hopes of finding Leichhardt, as a medium to gain knowledge of the colony's remote areas. This would assist materially in the colony's development.

Thus it was that after 1859 the new Colony of Queensland became the focus of attention of those seeking new pastoral runs. The Plains of Promise of Stokes, the first Leichhardt expedition, the tragic fate of Burke and Wills and the explorations of George Elphinstone Dalrymple all combined to

attract attention to North Queensland and to the northwest of the Colony in particular.

However, there was the matter of the western boundary of the Colony which was considered by Governor Bowen and the first Colonial Parliament to require adjustment. The letters patent of 6 June 1859 defined the boundary as 'the 141st meridian of east longitude, which is the eastern boundary of South Australia', A.C. Gregory the Surveyor-General had advised the ministry that 'a boundary at the 141st meridian would just cut off from Queensland the greater portion of the only territory available for settlement, i.e. the Plains of Promise, and the only safe harbour, i.e. Investigator Road, in the Gulf of Carpentaria'. The local legislature asked for an extension of the boundary to the 138th meridian of east longitude.

After some importuning by Bowen, and evidently by certain gentlemen in Victoria who were desirous of forming a settlement in northern Australia (a phenomenon not unknown today), the Imperial Government acceded to the request. On 12 April 1862 the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for Colonies advised Bowen that the Letters Patent had been issued annexing to Queensland that part of 'New South Wales as lies to the northward of the 21st parallel of south latitude, and between the 141st and 138th meridians of east longitude, together with all and every the adjacent islands their members and appurtenances in the Gulf of Carpentaria'. Queensland gained 120,000 square miles of territory, which now comprises such centres as Birdsville, Boulia, Camooweal, Burketown, Cloncurry and Mount Isa. (2)

THE MCINTYRES AND BARNETT

With the extension of the jurisdiction of Queensland a surge of settlement around the rivers flowing in to the Gulf of Carpentaria ensued. Some interested parties from the southern colonies even sought to overland their stock. Among these were Donald and Duncan McIntyre, (or M'Intyre or MacIntyre). The name was spelled variously, but I have adopted the spelling used in the Australian Dictionary of Biography, viz McIntyre.

Duncan McIntyre was born in Scotland in 1831 son of James McIntyre, a farmer, and his wife, Mary, nee MacDougall. He was probably orphaned when young and adopted by a relation, Archibald McIntyre, whose son Donald was often supposed to be Duncan's brother. McIntyre arrived in Port Phillip with his foster parents about 1849 according to the Australian Dictionary of Biography. However, other evidence indicates that an Archibald McIntyre and family arrived in the

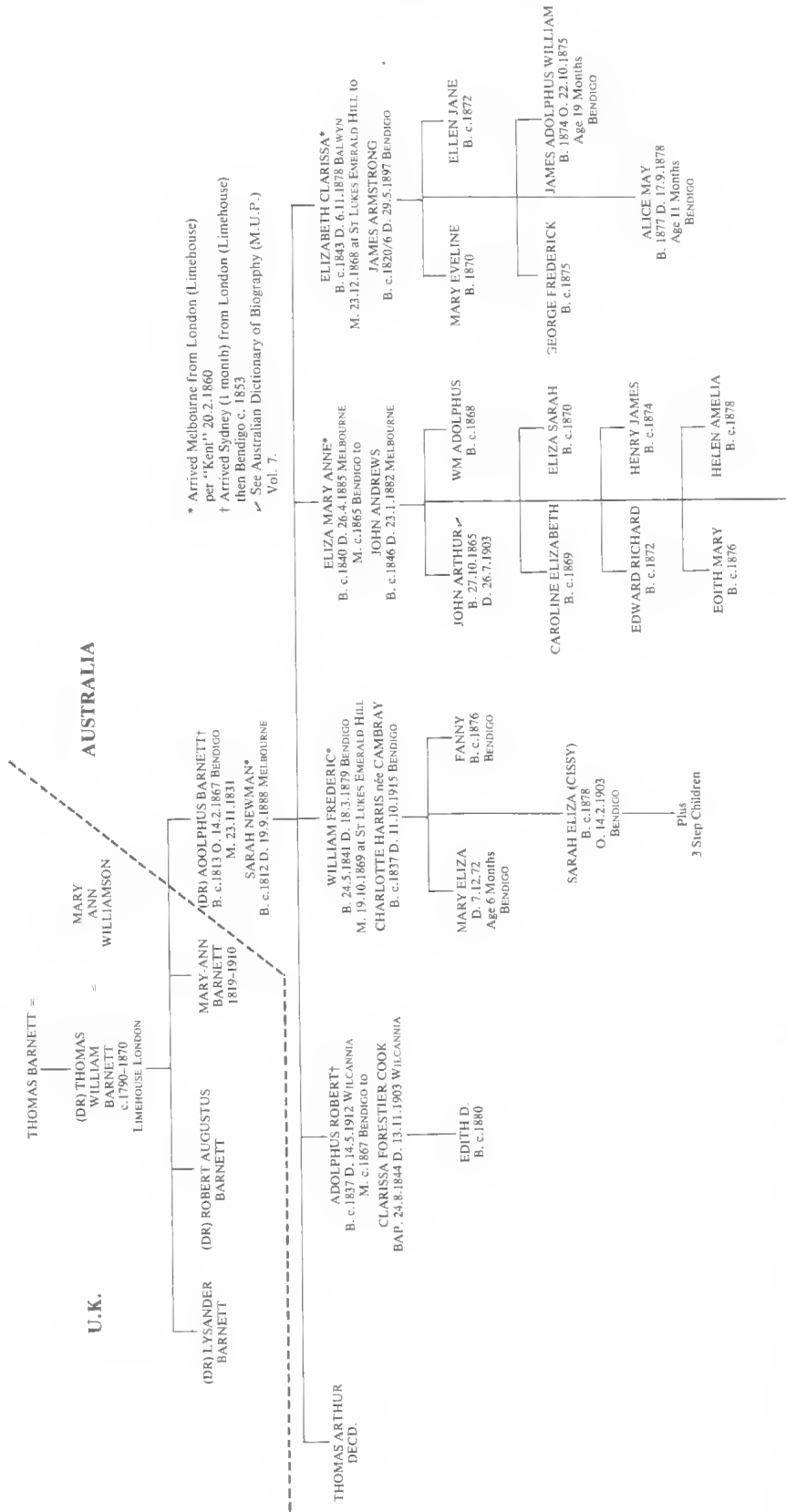
ship 'David Clarke' in 1839. There is no record of such a family arriving ten years later, unless they were not assisted immigrants. (3)

Ultimately Duncan worked as station superintendent at Bullock Creek, Glengower near Castlemaine, with another relation, Donald Campbell. On 5 March 1862 at St. James' Cathedral, Melbourne, he married Mary Clyde Morris. In mid-1863 Duncan and Donald McIntyre decided to seek a run in the new country around the Gulf of Carpentaria. (4)

They left Victoria with sheep and work horses. On their arrival at the Upper Darling in January 1864 they found it to be in flood. Being unable to drive their sheep across they perforce had to halt. Duncan McIntyre, with a small party, proceeded north to find a good route to Coopers Creek. He found several new creeks and lakes and ascertained that stock could be taken without difficulty to Coopers Creek. On his return he learned that the Queensland Government had imposed an embargo on the entry of stock from other colonies, either by land or by sea. An application to bring their stock into Queensland having been made, the McIntyres explored extensively the country to the north of the Darling and in to Queensland. Good country was found to the west of the Paroo River, but no permanent water. Forced by this lack they returned to the Paroo. There they met, coming north along the river, William Frederic Barnett, a young man of about 22 years of age, who had then been in Australia for four years. As he is the author of the diary to be examined in this paper, it is opportune here to study his antecedents and how he came to be travelling along the Paroo in 1864.

As explained in my acknowledgements, Mr D.K. Muir of Balgowlah, New South Wales, has compiled a Barnett family tree, which I reproduce as Fig. 1. From this it will be seen that W.F. Barnett was the third son and fourth child of Dr Adolphus Barnett and his wife, Sarah, nee Newman.

For some reason, not yet ascertained, the family split up in 1853 when Dr Barnett and his son, Adolphus Robert, left the family home in Limehouse, London and came to Australia. After one month in Sydney, they went to Sandhurst (now Bendigo, Victoria) where Dr Barnett remained until his death on 14 February 1867 (5). In February 1860 his wife and three remaining children joined him. They had sailed from London on 22 November 1859 in the ship 'Kent' and arrived in Melbourne on 20 February 1860. The ship's passenger list indicates the family had



* Arrived Melbourne from London (Limehouse) per "Kent" 20.2.1860
 † Arrived Sydney (1 month) from London (Limehouse) then Bendigo c.1853
 ‡ See Australian Dictionary of Biography (M.U.P.) Vol. 7.

FIG 1. The Barnett family tree. Compiled by Mr. D.K. Muir of Balgowlah, New South Wales.

travelled as cabin passengers; evidently funds were not lacking. Also it states that Frederic was 14 years of age, whereas his father's death certificate and later documentary evidence indicate he was at least four years older (6).

Barnett had an aunt, Eliza, his mother's sister, of whom he seems to have been extraordinarily fond. In November 1864 he wrote a long letter to her from the River Paroo, New South Wales (7). This letter is a fruitful source of information about Barnett's colonial career and also regarding his meeting with the McIntyres and some of his subsequent dealings with them; Duncan McIntyre (Fig. 2) in particular. All the factual information which follows is derived from Barnett's letter to his aunt.

He had worked as a clerk at a bank in Sandhurst for an uncertain period but resigned because he considered 'the bank authorities treated me shamefully'. He stated he disliked desk work, had other (unstated) reasons for wishing to leave Bendigo and felt he would get on better in an occupation he liked. The letter refers elsewhere to his and family troubles without going into detail. Dr Adolphus Barnett became insolvent on 7 June 1861 (8). The problems created by this probably had their effect on Frederic.

Probably from early 1862 Barnett worked at a Mr Lintott's cattle station at Lake Bael Bael as a station hand, but was treated as one of the family. After eighteen months it was decided to put sheep on the run. Barnett was put in charge of a flock of 10,000 on the River Edwards in New South Wales and drove them safely to Bael Bael.

Lintott advised Barnett he should go into new country, where he would have a better chance to get on. If he was unsuccessful he could return to Bael Bael.

Barnett started up the Darling River to seek employment at the Bogan River Pastoral Company's station at the junction of the Darling and Warrego Rivers. He had not gone far up the Darling when he was met by the greatest flood in that river in living memory — white or black. After battling through flooded areas (sometimes travelling thirty-five miles to cover five miles of forward progress) he arrived at Mount Murchison station. Here he was informed that he would not be able to go further as the flood waters were spreading ninety miles back from the river a little further upstream. J.H. Heaton's *Australian Dictionary of Dates* (1879) confirms that there were floods in New South Wales during February to July 1864.

Ross Reid, the owner of Mount Murchison, gave Barnett a caretaking job. The homestead had



FIG 2. A portrait of Duncan McIntyre.

to be abandoned temporarily so Reid could go to look after his stock, which had been moved away from the flooded area. Barnett lived in the homestead which was on a knoll turned into an island by the flood. He had for a companion a young missionary, who was flood bound also and who turned out to be a first rate cook. Barnett was able to obtain plenty of ducks and pigeons for the cooking pot, so they lived well.

Being anxious to move on, Barnett considered closely the geography of the country to the north and decided it was possible to travel directly across to the Paroo River. He could go up this stream and then cross to the Warrego and thus come to the Bogan River Pastoral Company's station, his original destination. His 'mate' (the missionary) accompanied him. They procured rations from Mount Murchison, packed them on a spare horse and set out for the Paroo.

After 150 miles of travel they arrived at Putha Putha on the Paroo. The missionary learning that a gentleman, to whom he had introductions, had an out-station from the Darling about 60 miles away, decided he wanted to go there. Barnett saw him there safely and then returned to the Paroo. He proceeded up the river and nearing the Queensland boundary he met and joined the McIntyres and their party.

This meeting was of great significance for Barnett. Duncan McIntyre's influence on him was considerable and Barnett's ambition thereafter was to be an explorer.

For the next several years his life was closely interwoven with McIntyre's and even after the death of the latter his influence on Barnett continued to be strong.

It is necessary to recount McIntyre's story because what he did and what happened to him, motivated Barnett to follow in his footsteps and to write the diary around which this paper has been written.

The introduction which follows may seem long, but it enhances the diary by giving the reader a full knowledge of what brought into being Barnett's record of the final phase of the Leichhardt Search Expedition.

NORTHWARDS TO THE GULF

Barnett confirms that the Queensland Government would not allow the introduction of sheep or cattle for fear of disease and this had stopped the McIntyres from taking their sheep through to the Gulf of Carpentaria as originally planned. They were compelled to wait for a permit to enter the colony with their sheep. However Barnett says—

Duncan McIntyre was wishing very much to go on & explore the country to the Gulf; his brother Donald being quite sufficient to look after the sheep — but he wanted someone to go with him. It was just the style of thing to suit me and had he not proposed for me to accompany him I should have volunteered.

We at once set to work getting rations ready & packed & breaking horses for the journey. We determined our party should consist of — Duncan McIntyre, chief, Wm. Fred Barnett, second in command, & Albert, Charlie & Billy (blackfellows) our subordinates, 25 horses & 1 Kangaroo dog & our rations to consist of tea, flour, sugar & a little rice. I will now refer to my journal —

21 June 1864

We experienced much trouble getting the packs on, the horses being very fresh & a number of them lately broken. At last we were all ready to start when unfortunately a fold (sic — ?foal) of one of the pack mares got amongst our mob, not wishing to take it McIntyre desired me to cut it out. In doing so I disturbed the pack horses who when they began to move about felt their girths and packs rather disagreeable and thereupon they one & all commenced bucking shying & kicking & galloping until they had rid themselves of them; it was indeed a very deplorable yet most ludicrous sight which beggars description — We brought up the horses again, repaired the packs, got them on & at length started altho' it only wanted an hour to sunset. Donald McIntyre & McCloud come with us for a few days journey.

Sunday 3 July. We are camped to day on a beautiful lake never before visited by white men; as Donald & McCloud leave us tomorrow we have christened it

"Lake Farewell". The horses are now moderately easy to manage having become used to the packs — Write to my brother & shoot ducks for supper.

From Monday 4 July, McIntyre and Barnett were on their own with the three aboriginals and began to make their way towards Coopers Creek.

On this stage young Mr Barnett was brought face to face, albeit vicariously, with the perils of exploring and pioneering far from the haunts of one's own kind. The *Riverine Herald* of Echuca reported, after an interview with McIntyre on his return from the journey to the Gulf, in mournful detail —

... Nothing new was discovered in passing through the country which had before been explored by them, for two or three hundred miles, as regards the features of the country. But it will be heard with satisfaction by the relatives and friends of the late Mr. Curlewis, that his remains, together with those of his companion, M'Culloch, were discovered by Mr. M'Intyre, and that his fate has been placed beyond all doubt. The blacks pointed out the grave in which they were laid together, and described how they had been murdered. The bones were disinterred, and the skulls of both these unfortunate young men were found to have been fractured by blows from some heavy weapons. They were undoubtedly the remains of white men, and part of a bridle rein was found tied round them, as if it had been used by the blacks to carry the bodies. A piece of guernsey shirt, very much blood-stained, was also found. They were killed, it appears, about a mile from where they were buried, in a dry billagong. The excuse given for the murder was that Mr. Curlewis had coerced a black-fellow to accompany him to show him the country, and that this man, not liking to go, persuaded four others to assist him in killing the two white men. One evening, after the party had camped, this black fellow asked permission from Mr. Curlewis to go out to look for ducks. The permission was granted him, and he went away to the other blacks, and arranged with them to come at a given signal during the night. Having removed the firearms and planted them, he gave the signal as soon as the two travellers were asleep, when his accomplices came up and speared them, after which they smashed their heads in with waddies and tomahawks. This Mr M'Intyre believes to be a correct account of the murder. The remains were carefully re-interred, and the spot marked. A special note of the locality was taken, as Mr. Curlewis was well known to Mr. M'Intyre, and he was desirous of doing all in his power to honor the memory of the unfortunate deceased. (9)

Barnett did not recount this grisly tale to his aunt. His next journal extract is dated Friday 15 July —

Camped on Coopers River. Yesterday we passed over immense plains of roley poley (a very prickly bush); having much trouble in driving the horses over

them and continuing to travel long after dark for water we did not notice our dog had stayed behind, we shall have to go on without him tomorrow. Four blackfellows pass at some distance from our camp but do not pay any attention to our signs to come up. McIntyre and Charlie go out for game & return with a native companion, 3 ducks, 2 hawk & an owl.

Coopers Creek was crossed at 26°10' south and followed up for twenty miles. They then struck out northwesterly over indifferent country for several days, which they found to be waterless. (10) Barnett takes up the tale again —

Sunday 24 July. Yesterday we left Charlie and Albert behind to find & bring up 4 horses which were missing the whole party not being able to remain as we had camped without water. They had not arrived this morning & as we had camped again without water, McIntyre & Billy proceeded with the horses & I remain to bring up Charlie & Albert. I go on a Stony rise that I may the more readily see the horses, should they come up, & lie down with the bridle of my horse in my hand. Presently I see two black objects approaching & bye & bye make them out to be two blackfellows; not knowing but that there may be more I mount my horse & look to my revolver. When within 200 yds they see me & their astonishment is evident — I cooey to them but they will not come up but alter their course to avoid me & as soon as they get to a bush make a fire & one of them stepping out in front with a fire stick which he kept waving towards me whilst he cried out some incantation in a loud voice; this having been completed they pursued their way. About an hour before sunset Charlie & Albert came up with the lost horses & without delay we started to overtake McIntyre; we had not proceeded more than 5 miles to a large dry creek of many channels when we met McIntyre and Billy returning with the horses.

They had met a large party of blacks who surrounded them & by their gesticulations appeared to be hostile — tapping their shields with their boomerangs & then their heads; McIntyre fired a shot close to the foremost one which rather intimidated them & as he imagined they had already killed me he had returned to find out or give me warning of their presence. Having seen to all the firearms & slackened the fastenings of our knives and tomahawks we started for where McIntyre had turned intending to make our way through the darkies should they oppose our progress for we had now been two nights & nearly 3 days without water & that period in this latitude is fearful. We had crossed nearly all the channels of the creek when we observed 15 or 20 blacks stooping over something very busily; as soon as they saw us they gave a yell & disappeared amongst the timber. We found that they had been busy ripping open one of our flour packs which had been thrown off by one of the horses & not noticed by McIntyre & Billy in their hasty retreat. Of course we halted to repair the pack, as we could not afford to lose nearly a cwt of flour; whilst doing so 20 to 30 blacks made their appearance &

pointed to their weapons which they had left by the pack; I carelessly threw them to them laughing at the same time, as well as my parched mouth would allow me, & made signs that we wanted water — they pointed the way we had come from.

Being painfully convinced there was no water the way the blacks pointed we determined to follow them as they were sure to go to water. They kept amongst the timber some distance continually jabbering in a loud tone & pointing the way we had come from; at length seeing we would not leave them & all of us making signs for water, they struck across a plane (sic) & at length to our great delight & relief came upon a small lagoon & having quenched our thirst we unpacked the horses & prepared to have a yarn with our unwilling guides who were watching us evidently much interested. We beckoned for them to come up & being joined by some more from a large camp we could see about two miles off, they did : soon they were rubbing our hands & faces pointing significantly to the flour as if they thought they were painted but when I showed them my arms & breast their astonishment was immense. We explained to them that we should stay here one night & then go away a long way; to show our power McIntyre shot a hawk & after giving them a few trifles we bid them good night giving them to understand that should they make their appearance during the night we should cause them to tumble down like the hawk.

They are a fine lot of men, wear no clothing & circumcise, are afraid of horses but only laugh when a loaded revolver is pointed at them. They have evidently never seen white men before.

Barnett, despite his youth and comparative inexperience, was shaping up well to the exigencies of the explorer's life. He had suffered the privations of thirst and had learned how an element of bluff could avert possible hostile confrontations with the natives. In McIntyre he had a cool headed, canny leader; but obviously he was good support material.

For a while they enjoyed better travelling conditions, having reached another water system in which four new rivers were found. The first of these was named in honour of the Rev. Joseph Docker of Wangaratta, one of the most generous supporters of the original Victorian expedition. From the Docker River, on a northwesterly course, they reached the Mueller River of McKinlay, crossing this watercourse in 23° south. Continuing their northwestern direction, they met about a degree further west, and in about 22° south, the very faint tracks of animals, seemingly either goats or sheep, and horses, at a spot not known to have been traversed by any explorer. (11) From this location a system chiefly of granite mountains extends in two main lines, southwest and northwest. The Mountain range was most difficult

to cross, as witness a further extract from Barnett's journal as told to his aunt —

Thursday 4 Aug. We have had a dreadful day's work today over almost impassible (sic) mountains. The horses climbing up & when nearly reaching the tops having to go single file through little gaps —, the only possible places to get over the mountains crown-like tops; when they came to the precipitous descents they snorted back with fear & it was with great difficulty we compelled them; often I thought they would be dashed to pieces by losing their footing or when they reached the bottom for in their way they dislodged large blocks of rock which descending carried all before them & reached the bottom with a deafening crash. At length we came to a dry sandy creek with almost perpendicular mountains on both sides about 500 ft. high: as the creek was coming from the direction we wanted to go we followed it up hoping to get water near its head & cross on to the northern drainage tomorrow. We had not proceeded far along the creek when the bed was frequently of granite & boulders partially blocked it up; after much difficulty we got up a ravine or glen & in a granite basin found plenty of water. McIntyre went further up and found the channel entirely blocked up with immense granite boulders so that we shall have to turn back some distance tomorrow & try another pass. This is indeed a wild looking place; for about 20 yds width blocks of granite are heaped & strewn about in fantastic ways, then on either side there is a rugged incline for 100 yds from which the mountains go up nearly perpendicular for 400 to 500 yds. No feed for the horses who remain standing where we left them.

They had been making for the headwaters of the Albert River, but the range described by Barnett was that which Burke had reported as giving such terrible work to the camels that they groaned and bled. McIntyre and Barnett found their horses' feet got so much worn down by the rocks that it became necessary to follow a fall of water to the north, and afterwards to the northeast, in order to get down on to the low country. Barnett takes up the tale again —

Saturday 6 Aug. Yesterday after much difficult travelling we succeeded in getting on the northern drainage; we followed down a creek which soon led us to a beautiful valley & at the first water we came to we camped. Today as we continued along the creek we surprised some blacks who with frightful yells set fire to the grass & ran up the mountains which were not far distant. Fifty or sixty of them kept up with us for about three miles running along the top of the mountains shouting and yelling hideously. About three miles further on we stopped to take an observation of the sun & we found that our axe had got away somehow. Thinking that perchance it had been torn from the pack in some scrub we had passed through, I and Charlie start back in quest of it. We had gone about 3 miles when we heard a chopping over a small

ridge & imagining that very likely that blackfellow had picked it up & were using it we rode over the ridge & saw a blackfellow & his lubra busy getting a possum out of a tree. So busily were they engaged in their occupation that we were not observed until close up & I cough. They instantly sprang to their feet and dropping everything they had, stood for a moment or two in mute bewilderment & then with yells that made the mountains ring again, scampered off. Seeing that the blackfellow was using his own tomahawk (a sharpened stone fastened between sticks) & hearing yells in all directions I deemed it advisable to give up the search & returned to the party. We kept on until after sundown without seeing water but observing the sand in the creek looked damp in one place we made a hole which was soon filled with water; having enlarged the hole to get sufficient water for the horses, we shot two cockatoos & a pigeon for supper & camped.

These extracts will give you an idea of our journey. On the 28th August we arrived at the Gulf of Carpentaria but mangrove saltwater swamps & creeks prevented our reaching the sea beach & obtaining a sight of the ocean tho' we were within 2 miles of it. It was impossible for horses to cross the creeks, the bank being almost perpendicular & the tide running out very strong. The presence of 200 or 300

Hostile black

Rushing to the fierce attack

(2) Boomerang (sic) & waddy wildly shaking

(1) Reed spear in woomera firmly placing

rendered it foolhardiness to swim across & proceed on foot to say nothing of the alligators.

Barnett's essay into verse does not overstate the case as McIntyre states that when they were within a mile of the coast, having got in between two deep salt mangrove creeks, they were hemmed in by a large number of blacks, whom they were obliged to charge in order to get out. As the *Riverine Herald* says —

Happily, however, by preserving his presence of mind, he succeeded in scaring them so much that he had no occasion to fire on them, but he was deprived of the opportunity of getting a sight of the ocean, which he could only have obtained by showing fight and shooting a number of them. He considered, however, that this gratification would have been too dearly bought at a sacrifice of human life. But neither on the journey out nor back was a single blackfellow shot. Once or twice an encounter seemed inevitable, but by showing a firm front, and seeming to disregard their presence, the necessity was avoided.

SOUTHWARD BOUND

It seems desirable to repeat Barnett's concluding remarks about the journey in his letter to his aunt before moving on to the matters which appear to have been regarded as McIntyre's exclusive

province for publication to the world at large. Barnett says —

Having proceeded up the river Flinders about 200 miles on our homeward journey we came upon a newly formed sheep station — the nearest settlement to the Gulf. We continued up the river calling at the several stations that have lately been formed; from thence along Walkers creek, Landsborough Creek & on to the river Thompson which we followed up some distance & then struck across ~~Coopers River~~ — rather the Barcoo, on to the head of Bulla which we followed down until we came to a cattle station which has been formed since we started; here we got on our outward track & in a few days I was reading your letter & playing with our dog that we left at Cooper River going out & he had found his way home 300 miles, causing a good many to think we had perished.

I have given you an idea of our homeward course—I can only give you our outward by saying that it was generally N.W. as we were endeavouring to make the Albert River (want of water prevented us). We crossed McKinlay's track about Lat. 25 Burke & Wills Lat. 20, Landsborough's Lat. 19 & recrossed Burke & Wills 18.30 so if you get a lately published map of Australia with the routes of the explorers on it & take into consideration that our journey was made (sic) in a dry season whereas the explorers had good ones & yet we never carried water tho' they did — that we travelled a greater distance in less time than any of them & came back in good health, you will have some idea what a great Australian pioneer I have become. Who would have thought the delicate boy would have grown to the hardy backwoodsman?

As it turned out, unhappily, he was not as hardy as he supposed. Generally McIntyre and Barnett agree on all but the odd small detail. In amplification of what Barnett had to say about the outward trip, it is noted that McIntyre says that once the northern coast range was crossed the Flinders River was struck at a point a little south of Donor's Hill (about 18°43'S. 140°33'E), from which it was followed for the first time to the sea (had the aborigines not prevented their covering that last mile or so). The journey from the Paroo to Coopers Creek took 22 days and the stage from the latter to the sea took a further 34 days, this period being little over half the time taken by either Burke or McKinlay.

McIntyre praised Barnett for his conduct during the trip. As already indicated in spite of his youth and previous inexperience in the bush he had shown a surprising aptitude for the work of exploring. The *Riverine Herald* of 31 December 1864 portentously remarks that it will be gratifying to his Sandhurst friends to hear of Barnett's being spoken of in terms of high praise by Mr. McIntyre. (12)

TRACES OF LEICHHARDT?

Accounts as to when the incidents of note on this trip of McIntyre's occurred vary greatly. Some say they happened, but do not say when; others say on the way to the Gulf and others, again, on the return from there. However, a letter written jointly by Doctors David Wilkie and Ferdinand von Mueller to the Melbourne press on 21 December 1864 may be taken as authoritative as to the details and chronological order of the incidents. The learned gentlemen have this to say —

From hence [the animal tracks in about 22° south], a system chiefly of granite mountains sends its ramifications in two main lines south-west and north-west. On a new principal tributary of the Flinders River, rising on the north-west flank of this mountain tract, Mr. McIntyre passed to the main stream of the Flinders, observing in about 20 degrees 40 minute South and about one degree westward of Burke and Will's track, two old horses, an event to which not too much importance can be attached, when it is remembered that neither the Victorian explorers, nor Landsborough, nor A. Gregory, nor Leichhardt, in his first glorious expedition, abandoned any horses in any adjacent locality, Mr Walker's horses being left about 300 miles to the east. A still more important discovery rewarded Mr McIntyre's exertions after having reached on the Flinders line, the Carpentaria Gulf; for on his return journey whilst following up the main east branch of the Flinders River, he noticed on its western bank, in approximate latitude, 20 degrees south, two trees each bearing a large L, no number attached as a mark, indicating, as we, with Mr. McIntyre feel convinced, a Leichhardtian camp.

The tributary of the Flinders was named by McIntyre the Dugald River and that was where the horses had been found.

On the return journey McIntyre by keeping to the Flinders found that the coast range consisted only of high undulating downs without any stones. The difficult terrain of the outward journey, where water could only be obtained from rocky basins in gorges and no feed was available for the horses, could thus be avoided in any future journey. He found that the Flinders was settled from its head to within 280 miles of the sea. One station, however, was 130 miles lower down. The squatters on the river had lost about thirty per cent of their sheep from the poison bush coming over the ranges from east Queensland. Cattle losses had been considerable also from the poison bush and at least fifty per cent had been lost from the ravages of pleuro-pneumonia. A large percentage of horses had died from snake bites. Landsborough had presented the Flinders as a 'finely-watered' river, 120 yards wide and flowing. McIntyre found it dry

20 miles from the sea and higher up it was often dry for ten miles at a stretch and the general width was found to be 30 or 40 yards. Most of the stations were completely out of provisions. They were cut off by the drought from all communication with Port Denison.

McIntyre called at Bowen Downs Station at the head of the Thomson River and found the cattle there were all clean and in splendid condition, despite the dryness of the season. From there to Coopers Creek the country was well-watered but unstocked. McIntyre had planned to return near Landsborough's tracks, to the source of the Bulloo and from that river to the Paroo and accomplished the whole journey in twenty weeks. (13)

That McIntyre was convinced he had found traces of Leichhardt is evidenced by his hasty return to Victoria. As soon as he had reached the telegraphic line at Swan Hill on the Murray River he sent a telegram to the Secretary of the Royal Society of Victoria on the 15 December 1864 —

Found between Burke and Sturt tracks about 200 miles from Carpentaria two old horses and saw very old tracks of a party going south west; also two trees marked L about fifteen years old.

Duncan McIntyre
Glengower by Castlemaine.

Dr Robert L.J. Ellery of the Victorian Observatory the Secretary of the Royal Society, got in touch with Dr Mueller for his views as to whether McIntyre had come across some traces of Landsborough's party. Mueller replied promptly that no horses had been lost by Landsborough in his South West expedition from the Gulf of Carpentaria. Hence if the two L's were made by the party to which the horses belonged they could not be marks made by Landsborough. Mueller wondered if there might not be some mistake as to the distance from the Gulf of Carpentaria. He told Ellery that Mr Gregory had told Mr Giles of the discovery of other trees marked L at or about the Alice River. Mueller advised Ellery to publish the telegram. It appeared in the *Argus* with accompanying brief letters from Ellery and Mueller on 17 December 1864 and was republished in the *Australasian* on the following Saturday 24 December.

The almost immediate follow up by Drs Wilkie and Mueller appeared as already stated in the *Age* on 21 December 1864. This was republished in the *Australasian* on 24 December. Apart from the detail about the location of horses and trees already covered, the letter had this to say after

stating the conviction of those concerned that the two L trees indicated a Leichhardtian camp —

With this position the traces of Leichhardt, recently found on the Alice River, can be brought into a line of contact. These L's are clearly distinct from any marks of Landsborough's camps, who in that latitude kept the eastern bank of the Flinders River and who, moreover, attached a consecutive number to his marked camp trees. If further proofs of distinction were wanting, we might add that the bark had encroached to the extent of four or five inches on the incision of the L's, whereby a much greater age of the letters is established than that of Landsborough's camps; and still further we have evidence of one of the natives, who served both Landsborough's and McIntyre's expeditions, declaring the camp foreign to the expedition of the former gentleman. The position of these momentous trees being in flooded ground, it would have been in vain to search for further camp traces. Mr McIntyre, in carrying out a judiciously arranged plan, went homeward near Landsborough's tracks, to the sources of the Bulla (sic! Bulloo?), and finally from this river to the Paroo, accomplishing in twenty weeks a journey, by which he has secured a prominent and honourable position amongst our explorers, and this by slender and entirely private means, accompanied only by one of his countrymen and five (sic) aborigines.

Shall, whilst we can avail ourselves of the talents of tried and spirited travellers, like Mr. McIntyre and Mr. Giles, the fate of one of the most famed explorers which the world ever possessed, remain uncared for? Shall the destiny of him, who, in Australia, discovered the 'North-west passage', remain still for an indefinite period unascertained? And shall the revelation of the fate of this truly great man be any longer left to the chances of mere accident?

A lengthy account, entitled 'Late Explorations on the Shores of Carpentaria', of the journey of McIntyre and Barnett appeared in the *Riverine Herald* of Echuca on 31 December 1864. It was this article which was reproduced as a supplement in the *Brisbane Courier* of 12 January 1865. The L's on the trees were described in detail; McIntyre expressed the opinion that the letters seen were evidently cut by a skilled hand and could not have been the work of the blacks. The horses, which McIntyre had brought back with him, were also described. One was a bay and the other a black. There were illegible brands on both of them and each had a blotched brand on the same part of the back. Both were old horses. McIntyre said he had horses in his mob fifteen or sixteen years of age, which performed the whole journey well, while the two picked up by him knocked up in a very short time. This indicated they must have been of great age indeed, for when found they were rolling fat.

MUELLER AND THE LADIES OF MELBOURNE

On 9 February 1865 Dr Mueller gave a lecture at St. George's Hall, Melbourne on 'The Fate of Leichhardt'. In his own words —

'some space of time has elapsed since Dr. Wilkie and myself drew public attention to the important bearings of Mr McIntyre's researches on Leichhardt's fate, without any champion appearing for the lost explorers; and on consulting with my honourable friend, we felt that our call should not be suffered to die away, and resolved that it should be renewed in the present demonstration'.

He then went on at great length to discuss the possible ends which Leichhardt and his party had met; murdered by the natives; destroyed in a terrible hailstorm; drowned in a flood or burned in a bushfire. On the other hand they might have lost their livestock to poison weed and be living marooned in an area, which might be capable of sustaining them on a subsistence level, but from which neither retreat nor advance was possible. It was a very dramatic presentation and aimed at the ladies of Victoria in an endeavour to enlist their support for a fund raising venture to finance a search for Leichhardt based on the seemingly new evidence found by McIntyre. He advocated the services of McIntyre should be secured. Mueller said —

This traveller entertains a persuasion, in which I fully share, that Leichhardt's fate can be discovered, and is inspired with an enthusiasm for bearing the standard of geographic science still further through this continent. With calm judgment he combines trained knowledge, travelling experience, an earnest will, and an unflinching perseverance; and above all he is willing to sacrifice private interest in the good cause. I am commissioned by Mr McIntyre to state, that whosoever in Leichhardt's search will take the field may unhesitatingly command from him every information calculated to secure success.

At the end of the lecture several men addressed the meeting. A deputation was appointed, consisting of Drs Wilkie, Crooke, Eades, Embling, Bleasdale and Mueller and Messrs Summers, Bonwick and Kyté, to wait on the heads of the church sections to solicit that the measure suggested by Dr Mueller, to call the ladies together for delegating representatives to a central committee be carried out. The central committee would, when appointed, solicit funds to finance a search for Leichhardt. (14)

The enterprise, needless to say, attracted some attention. A Mr S. Deveson of Little Bendigo, Ballarat, came up with the suggestion that if an expedition was sent it should be supplied with

materials for making a number of fire balloons. One should be sent up each evening when the relief party came to country considered by the leader 'to afford a reasonable prospect of proving serviceable to the lost men'. Mr Deveson expressed the view that any survivor who sighted the fire balloon would at once conclude that civilised beings were in their vicinity and would use every effort to come in contact with them. (15)

John Roper, who had accompanied Leichhardt to Port Essington wrote, from the River Acheron in Victoria's southern highlands, to Dr Mueller expressing his gratitude at the efforts being made to promote a search his old friend and leader, Leichhardt. He wished the endeavour every success and hoped that a last the world would find what had happened to Leichhardt. (16)

A. W. Howitt also wrote to Dr Mueller. He said he had questioned the natives about parties of white men in the interior and had done this as far as latitude 25°30' south. Because of his ability to speak the language of that part of the interior he could be sure of understanding and making himself understood. He found that the natives were acquainted with the movements of Sturt's party, Gregory and the later explorers. He could never gain the least intelligence about such a party as Leichhardt's. In the circumstances Howitt considered that their traces must be sought considerably north of the latitude he had mentioned. This supported the hypotheses of Mueller and McIntyre. (17)

However, all was not sweetness and light. A discordant note had been struck, about three weeks before Howitt's letter, by a gentleman who signed himself 'A Murray Squatter'. He wrote from Kasima on 28 April 1865 to the *Riverine Herald* as follows —

Can you inform me and many others who really think that something should be done to learn Leichhardt's fate, what has been done or is to be done about this Leichhardt expedition. I have received a circular from the Ladies' Committee, written with great taste and good feeling, as might be expected, but we want something more than taste, or even good feeling, in fitting out such an expedition. There was enough of both and to spare in that most woeful Burke and Wills affairs, yet see what a miserable end they came to. To initiate, and even carry on, such a benevolent movement, to enlist sympathy and collect funds, the ladies are admirably suitable; but imagine sixteen ladies selecting horses and bargaining for saddles in Bourke Street. Of course, they will leave all that to others but to whom? Who is to be the leader? Who have the ladies to consult and advise with as to the choice of a leader? And who is that leader to consult with as to his general proceedings? A man must

be chosen who may be entrusted with everything, but upon many points any prudent man would prefer being supported by other men's opinions. There must be a pre-arranged route, for instance, and who is to lay it down? Certainly not the leader unrestricted; it would be unfair to him, for if, for one thing, he found good sheep country and applied for it, it would undoubtedly be said that he had paid much more attention to his own interest than the public object of his journey, as was freely enough said of more than one of disinterested searches after Burke and Wills; and the best man if unrestricted, might be biased by an anxiety to bring the expedition to a close, to secure some paradise he had discovered. This has been originated by Dr. Mueller and Dr. Wilkie's report, and I would like to know if they are the ladies only advisers. They are both very good men — the first is a botanist of European reputation, and I believe thoroughly acquainted with the whole subject upon paper, but both too much mixed up with Burke and Wills failure to give entire confidence to this if placed under their auspices. In fact, not to make too fine a point of it, people won't have them, that is alone; associated with others their unfortunate experience might be useful. I am ready to subscribe £10 or £20 if I can see that it will be carried out practically and efficiently, but with the greatest respect for the ladies, I should like to know who they intend to appoint, and who are to assist them in arranging with him as to his proceedings before I subscribe, and I can say that almost everyone I have spoken to is of the same opinion. (18)

Dr Mueller, three weeks later, replied to the Murray Squatter at considerable length, ostensibly to shield Dr Wilkie against an attack which, had the Kasima gentleman been acquainted with all the facts connected with the first Victorian expedition, he could never have ventured.

The Doctor pointed out that neither Dr Wilkie nor himself were involved with the arrangements which led to the disasters of the Burke and Wills expedition; in fact they were both opposed to the decision which led to its sad fate.

Now that he had entered 'the arena' Dr Mueller took the opportunity to repel the attacks against himself. He pointed out that since 1848 he had travelled about 24,000 miles within Australia and no one can say he had ever deviated from public duties for the sake of personal interests. He treasured his reputation and would not hazard it in promoting the ladies' enterprise other than for altruistic motives. Murray Squatter should be aware from practical considerations that a safe and tried explorer like McIntyre should not be fettered in the details of his operations. Rather than seeking to impede the objects of the enterprise every right minded person should be seeking to assist the ladies. It had been stated months ago that the ladies, when the fund was obtained, would go to

gentlemen for advice that might be needed and seek from them the counsel for practical initiation of their enterprise. (19)

Mrs Eliza S. Bromby, the president and Mrs Ellen Tierney, the Honorary Secretary, of the Leichhardt Search Committee sent a telegram to Lady Bowen in Brisbane. It read:

The Victorian Government will bear a share of the expenditure which may be incurred in prosecuting a search of Leichhardt if other Governments will assist. If Queensland will contribute liberally say £1,000 — the expedition can be organised immediately; otherwise the services of Mr M'Intyre (sic) and the advantages of instituting the search a year earlier will be lost. Private contributions will soon amount to £1,000. Pray send soon an answer; surety to be given that no squatting interest will be pursued.

On 3 June 1865 Lady Bowen received a further telegram from Melbourne:

South Australian Government announces its decision to recommend unconditionally a vote for the Leichhardt search to Parliament.

Lady Bowen replied on the same day:

The Queensland Government will recommend to Parliament a vote for the Leichhardt Search. I will form a Ladies Committee to receive contributions.

The Brisbane Courier stated,

after her return from Ipswich, Lady Bowen will call a public meeting of ladies with the object of forming the committee referred to. Meanwhile, contributions in aid of the 'Leichhardt Search Fund' will be received by Captain Pitt, R.A., Government House. Subscriptions already received:— Sir George and Lady Bowen £5; Hon. R.G.W. Herbert £2; C. Fitzsimmons Esq., M.L.A., £5. (20)

On 20 June 1865 the Rev. W.B. Clarke, well known for his geological researches in Australia, wrote from Sydney to Dr Mueller expressing his strong support for the Leichhardt search. He said that in 1858 he had canvassed the New South Wales Government to prosecute a search for the lost expedition to clear up the mystery of Leichhardt's disappearance and had recommended the search be concentrated upon the area between 25° and 28° south latitude and between 144° and 148° east longitude (an area of just on 100,000 square miles). The Rev. Clarke notes with satisfaction that McIntyre's discoveries had been within that region, as the New South Wales Government had not given any support to his proposal. (21)

The *Australasian* of 1 July 1865 also contained an item of topical interest —

Mr. Donald Campbell, of Glengower, deserves much credit for the spirited and disinterested manner

in which he completed in the metropolis all arrangements for the Leichhardt search, acting on behalf of his nephew, Mr. McIntyre, who takes command of the expedition. Those members of the party who are not yet with Mr. McIntyre, on the Darling, are required to be at Glengower by the end of the week, from whence they will then start with the camels and horses for Mount Murchison without delay. Provisions will be brought from one of the Queensland ports to the sources of the Thomson River. For the long keeping of the dromedaries the colony is indebted to the Messrs. Samuel and Charles Wilson of the Wimmera.

THE SEARCH FOR LEICHHARDT

On 3 July 1865 the Leichhardt search party left Glengower at mid-day (it was a Monday). According to the *Casilemaine Daily News* all the men seemed accustomed to bush life and endurance and mostly of middle age. None of them, however, excepting the leader, Mr McIntyre and Dr Murray, the second in command and surgeon, had been in previous expedition parties. Mr McIntyre was then supposed to be about 500 miles from the Gulf and was to meet the party on 1 August on the Darling. In the meantime the party was to travel under the leadership of Dr Murray and Mr Gray, the latter being an experienced bushman. A lengthy letter from William Landsborough to the *Queensland Guardian* was at his request republished in the Victorian press. It expressed some practical views on the *modus operandi* of the search for Leichhardt. Landsborough appears to have been under the impression that Howitt would be accompanying the expedition as surveyor and journalist; duties which should not devolve on McIntyre as leader. However, in a footnote to the letter Landsborough says

Dr. Mueller has just ordered me to send a quantity of provisions to Cornish Creek, one of the heads of the Thomson; and has informed me that the dromedaries are about to be taken to the Darling, and that Dr. Murray (of Howitt's expedition in search of Burke) is to join the party. (22)

Dr Murray will be discussed at length later on, but suffice it to say at this stage it was Mueller's and the Ladies Committee's fatal mistake when they appointed him as second in command of the expedition.

A Queensland letter of 1 July 1865 which appeared in the *Australasian* on 15 July 1865 indicated that Queensland, led by Lady Bowen, was putting its best foot forward to raise money for the expedition.

The Government of Queensland was expected to give at least £500. It was believed Queensland

would bear a fair share of the expenses of the expedition.

Then full of praise for the generosity of the Legislature and people of Queensland Dr Mueller published a letter he had received from Mr Gordon Sandeman, M.L.A. for Leichhardt (Q) which informed the Doctor that the Queensland 'House of Assembly' had voted £1,000, in aid of the 'Leichhardt Search Fund', by a large majority. (23)

After the Queensland parliament had voted £1,000 in aid of the search for Leichhardt Sir George Bowen, the Governor, sent a very full report about the whole matter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. From Bowen's despatch we learn that the Victorian and South Australian Parliaments had each voted £500. Private contributions amounting to about £1,500 had also been collected, mainly in Victoria and Queensland. The total collected being sufficient to maintain the expedition for two years, it had already started on its journey. Bowen then gave an account of Leichhardt's career as an explorer and of the search expeditions mounted for him after his disappearance. He went on to say, despite Hovenden Hely's report of a native account of a massacre of the whole party about 200 miles west of Mount Abundance, later explorers had found traces much to the north of the reported location of the massacre. Eventually, Duncan McIntyre's discoveries of horses and marked trees in 1864 led to those, particularly Dr Mueller, who had never ceased to urge the probability of Leichhardt or some of his party still being alive, to espouse the cause of a renewed search for the lost explorer and members of his expedition. Bowen mentions Buckley in Victoria and Morrill in North Queensland as examples of survival among the aboriginals in the Australian bush.

The Governor mentioned how the Victorian Ladies' Committee had enlisted the aid of Lady Bowen, who had obtained the assistance of Queensland ladies of social influence which had been successfully exercised in obtaining the liberal aid which had been received from the Colonial Parliament.

Bowen expressed the view that whatever the outcome of the expedition it must add to the knowledge of the remoter portions of the colony and assist materially in its development.

In conclusion the Governor informed the Colonial Office that Duncan McIntyre had set out from Victoria some months before. The rest of the party was now moving to meet him and the expedition was to be finally organised in

Queensland. It would consist of eight to twelve carefully selected 'bushmen', 14 camels and about 40 horses. It had the means to have supplies for two years. The expedition would proceed first to Flinders River where the last traces had been seen by McIntyre. From thence it would proceed towards the interior. Bowen said the expedition would receive every assistance. It will be able to procure fresh stores from time to time from Burketown, the new settlement recently established on Bowen's recommendation at the head of navigation of the Albert River flowing into the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria. (24)

On 21 August 1865 near Mount Murchison McIntyre took charge of the expedition. On 23 August the party moved on and on 5 October was camped at Curracunaya Springs.

BARNETT JOINS THE SEARCH

When Barnett returned with McIntyre from the Gulf of Carpentaria in November 1864, he intended at first to pay a visit to Bendigo, but, again quoting from his letter to his aunt:

a journey of 1200 miles ('tis at least 600 to Bendigo) is a great loss of time and with me time is more valuable than money & tho' it would be a great pleasure to me yet the pleasure to all parties will be greater the longer I stay away & the better lining I have to my pocket when I do go, so I will have another trip somewhere first.

I am having a spell now for a little bit — living like an eastern king. On either side of me is black girl squatting down ready to fetch a light to my pipe or a drink or any thing else I may require. Don't blush when I tell you they are as naked as the day they were born; its their fashion. Outside the gnyah my black boy is lying asleep ready to fetch my horse or whatever I order him & this morning I started half a dozen blackfellows & their lubras the former to net ducks and the latter to catch fish, some of which I shall have for my supper.

A young man's boasting, perhaps. In any event he stayed in the Warrego area and took up employment there, probably with the Bogan River Pastoral Company, as he had intended to do much earlier.

However, upon his receiving a letter from Duncan McIntyre, which informed him of the Leichhardt Search Expedition, Barnett left his employment and hastened to Glengower, where he was mortified to find the Leichhardt Search Expedition had started off a few days before his arrival.

Donald Campbell advised Barnett to go with the expedition and assured him he would have an equal command with Dr Murray. Returning up the

Darling, Barnett met Duncan McIntyre only to be told by him that on account of the arrangements already made, Barnett could only accompany the expedition as one of the men under McIntyre's own leadership. Barnett said he was satisfied to do this (25) This is a fair indication of his loyalty to Duncan McIntyre and the trust he reposed in him.

Barnett was deemed to have joined the expedition on 10 September 1865. The remuneration he agreed to accept appears to have been £78 per annum, judging by the fact that when he left of his own accord on 24 March 1866 he received £35. In addition, of course, he received rations. These facts are revealed in a letter of Barnett's which was published in the Melbourne *Argus* newspaper on 2 December 1867.

Two reports both dated 30 March 1866 were sent to Dr Mueller and the Search Committee respectively by McIntyre from the Gelliot (Gilliat) River covering the period from October 1865 to March 1866. The first (to Mueller) reads:

In writing to you a full and particular account of everything of importance connected with the expedition from the time it left the Darling, New South Wales, until its arrival here, and especially of what took place in the neighbourhood of Cooper's Creek. we came nearly straight from the New South Wales boundary on the Pine River to Cooper's Creek, where it turns south, or from about 29°S, 144°30'E, to about 26°S, 142°E, and nearly in a direct line from there to the intersection of the tropical line and Mueller River, and afterwards almost direct to [Mount] Fort Bowen,



FIG 3. Typical tree blaze to mark campsites.

or the point from where I was directed to commence the search. The search has been commenced, and will be carried on while it is possible to go on with it. Along with our doctor and some other members of the expedition we lost some thermometers, &c., all of which I will try and replace at the settlement on the Albert [Burkettown], and also a surveyor if there is one to be had. I have kept a complete field book and journal from Cooper's creek to this point, all the important geographical features being ascertained as near as possible, and the position of the camps ascertained to a tenth part of a mile, five or six observations on each side of the zenith being taken almost every night. We have still four thermometers and two barometers (such as were sent up with the expedition), two large sextants, a number of small ones, and eight compasses, so that, allowing none are to be had on the Albert, the expedition is pretty well supplied. I am doubtful about being able to get a legally qualified surgeon; and a surveyor capable of making astronomical observations is still more difficult to procure; other men are plentiful enough. The other part of the expedition, except in horses (and I will arrange about getting enough), is still all right; in fact, I believe the most complete that ever started. I expect you will get my other letter as soon as this, when you will know all about our movements. I have sent a hurried despatch to the committee along with this. You must excuse this scroll (*sic*), for I am really very busy, but I suppose you will be glad to hear something of what we are doing.

The despatch to the committee was addressed to the Hon. Sec. of the Ladies Leichhardt Search Committee, Melbourne, Victoria. After dealing with the party's movements to Curracunaya where they stayed:

until the 11th November, when, although not quite ready, we were obliged to move on, as the water was nearly done. Leaving Curracunaya the expedition consisted of sixty five horses, (twelve dromedaries, about five tons of stores and ten men:— Duncan M'Intyre (*sic*) (leader), James P. Murray (surgeon and second in command), John M'Calman, William F. M'Donald, Alexander Gray, John Barnes, Belooch (Indian camel-driver), Welbo and Myola (aborigines).

On the 13th November, we crossed the Bulla [Bulloo] and on the 17th reached the Wilson, which was followed up for some days. Late on the night of the 26th we arrived at Cooper's Creek and found it quite dry. As soon as day dawned Welbo and I started to look for water. We didn't go far. After a careful examination of the bed and banks of the channel, and old native footpaths, we returned to the expedition camp, and soon afterwards the party started back along the expedition track towards the last water. This retreat ended in the loss of all the horses but three, and the return of Dr. Murray, Gray, M'Donald and Barnes to the settled districts.

The whole of December was lost in finding permanent water in Cooper's Creek and collecting

stores, firearms, ammunition, instruments and other valuables, which, owing to the expedition being declared at an end by the officers in charge, had been thrown anywhere and anyhow, or carried away on the horses. On New Year's Day we were camped on a fine sheet of water on Cooper's Creek. But as the dromedaries required a month of two's rest, and the natives troublesome, we moved a few miles up the creek to where there was good feed and timber. By the 14th January we had a stockade up, and the annoyance from the natives was at an end. In a few weeks the horses and dromedaries got quite fresh, and an unlimited supply of the finest fish put us all to rights. On Friday, the 9th February, we packed up and started. The expedition leaving Cooper's Creek consisted of twelve dromedaries, five horses, nearly two tons of stores and six men:— Duncan M'Intyre (leader), John M'Calman, William T. [?F] Barnett, Belooch (Indian), Welbo, Myola (aborigines).

On Sunday, the 18th February, we were enjoying ourselves in the clear water of the Docker River, and on the 1st March we left the Mueller, and almost immediately entered the tropics. On the 9th March the coast range was crossed, and the next day we came on the head of this river, which we traced down. On Sunday, the 18th March, the expedition was camped on the east side of the Gelliot [Gilliat] River nearly opposite [Mount] Fort Bowen. Welbo and I started to see if there was a station in the neighbourhood; a few miles in an easterly direction brought us to the Flinders River, which we crossed, and soon after we met a stockman looking for horses, who conducted us to Mr. Gibson's station near Mount Little. I was informed at this station that no further traces of Leichhardt had been observed, and that natives were seldom seen in the neighbourhood. After resting a few hours we proceeded to Mr. Morresell's station, about twelve miles up the Flinders and only a few miles below the LL trees, Leichhardt's supposed camp. We got to the station by sundown and remained all night. Mr. Morresell told me that the old camp near the station was the only trace of Leichhardt that he knew or had heard of on the river. I remained all Monday with Mr. Morresell, and on Tuesday, the 20th March, returned to the expedition camp. Since then Welbo and I have been searching for marked trees and other traces of Leichhardt down this river [Gilliat], up the Flinders, and across to the Cloncurry, but have not found any, neither have we been able to find any natives.

The dromedaries, although in good condition, are leg-weary, and will require a few weeks' rest before starting into the western interior. In the meantime the search will be going on, and, if possible, the natives of the district found and interrogated, and, perhaps, some of them attached to the expedition. (26)

DR MUELLER CONFIDES IN DR PETERMANN

This is the longest surviving personal report from McIntyre to the Ladies' Committee which has been located. Yet, in the 1866 issue of *Justus*

Perthes Geographical Institute Bulletin (*Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes Geographischer Anstalt 1866*) edited by Dr A. Petermann and published at Gotha in Germany, there appeared an article entitled *The Expedition in Search of Leichhardt in Australia, 1865 and 1866 (Die Expedition zur Aufsuchung Leichhardt's in Australien, 1865 und 1866)*. Dr Mueller is cited as the source. After briefly canvassing the beginning of the expedition, the misbehaviour of Dr Murray, who doled out brandy, while McIntyre was off in search of water, the subsequent reorganisation of the expedition and its inconclusive results due to McIntyre's death, the main content of the article is a report by McIntyre from the Gregory River dated 2 May 1866. The letter from McIntyre (which is referred to as incomplete) reads, in part, as follows:

I wrote to you about 5 weeks ago from the Gilliot River, including with my letter reports and papers from the Expedition. The camels, horses and men needed a few weeks rest. I took on a man named McLeod and two black boys that my brother had brought with the stock, along with 7 horses. On the 2nd April I broke camp in order to search for further traces of Leichhardt and in order to purchase some more provisions at a harbour.....

We went up river and reached the so-called town [Burketown] or the harbour. Its inhabitants numbered about 60, and of these about 45 or 50 had the fever. People were sick everywhere. I could not find 10 that were in any condition to work. I made camp by a lagoon about a mile from the town, and believed by doing so that I was out of the area of infection. There were two tents near us. By the next morning one of the occupants of these tents was dead, and when I went up to the town I found that two others had died here during the morning. I took some provisions with me and made camp 16 miles further upstream, but even while we were loading up the horses, one of the black boys came down with the fever and this morning McLeod has fallen ill with it. The boy will probably pull through, but McLeod has given himself up for lost. I am ready to travel on and am only waiting for the men to recover, which will be in a few days, I hope. It doesn't last long—either you're in your grave within a week, or else you're better.

Before I came here, the town numbered about 80 people, 66 of whom got the fever. They tell me that in all, 25 have died and at the moment they are making the coffins for two whose condition is hopeless. I hope I escape healthy. People are hurrying away as fast as they can by water and across country. There are two storehouses here, plenty of flour, tea and sugar, but the quality is very poor. We can hardly eat the flour, which is quite sour. The town also has two hotels. It lies on a plain, a few feet above sealevel. Perhaps there is something strange in the air this year, but all the aborigines seem to be quite well.

Up until now, we have come across no definite trace of Leichhardt, but we are quite sure that there are still white people living now among the aborigines, or they have been living with them within the last ten years. A boy and a girl, 10 to 12 years old, almost white, with blue eyes and red hair live there. In another tribe there is a girl of about 15 years old, in a third there is an adult female of about 18, and the rumour has it that a white man is living with a large tribe of about 200, a day's ride from here...

Since leaving the depot camp on the Gilliot, we have explored about 500 miles of new country, mostly along the northern slope of the coastal mountains. In the course of this we crossed over an area, which will undoubtedly prove to be a rich goldfield in a short time. We did not, in fact, find any gold, but from the formation of the terrain I have no doubt of its presence.

Should the search in this area prove to be fruitless, we will immediately cross over the coastal range and continue our explorations in the area around the southern or inland water courses, in a southwesterly direction, perhaps towards the Swan River.

The article continues with a statement that soon after writing this incomplete letter McIntyre returned to the depot on the Gilliat, taking with him W.F. Sloman from Burketown, whom he had engaged to act as second in charge of the expedition. On 20 May McIntyre was on the Dugald River (the McKinlay route). He left there in haste on 23 May, alone, to cover the 50 miles to the Gilliat in order to pick up the rest of the expedition from there. He was unwell at the time and arrived at the Gilliat depot completely exhausted. His condition worsened and he died on the morning of 4 June 1866.

McIntyre had not kept a journal for the last part of his trip. He had trusted to his memory and notes written in his field book. Sloman expressed a desire to put these together, but pointed out that complete notes, a field book and journal existed for the journey as far as the Gilliat River, including the geographical position of all camps. On 7 June Sloman had written to the Committee notifying them that he had two men, 11 camels, 32 horses and considerable provisions, that he was in the Gilliat area and awaited orders from Melbourne. The Committee had made no decision by the end of July as to the expedition's future, other than instructing Sloman to be ready to continue on receipt of word to do so.

Dr Peterman concludes the article with reflections on how this expedition reveals anew the gigantic difficulties facing all geographical expeditions. The English newspapers from Melbourne contain many criticisms of such expeditions and may be right to some extent from

the material point of view. However, the good doctor expresses the opinion it would be a sad day for humanity if all thought this way. He thanks providence for such enlightened and dedicated men as Dr Mueller, the Director of the Melbourne Botanical Gardens, who worked so hard to bring this expedition about.

No trace of McIntyre's letter of 2 May can be found in the Melbourne press. Its incompleteness may have been the reason why Mueller did not release it to either Committee or press. Again he could have been motivated by a wish to play down as much as possible what had happened to the expedition at Coopers Creek, which will be dealt with fully by me at a later stage in this article. Despite everything Mueller could not resist sending McIntyre's letter to Dr Petermann in far-off Germany for publication there.

In setting out the composition of the party the *Age* and *Weekly Herald* omitted one member—William F. Barnett. It could be that Barnett and McDonald had similar initials and the scribe omitted the second person inadvertently. Barnett had accompanied McIntyre in his 1863-64 venture to the Gulf and could be counted on not to desert, as becomes apparent when M'Calman and Barnett are McIntyre's only white followers at and after Coopers Creek. The *German Geographical Bulletin* of 1866 does confirm Barnett's presence in the expedition.

THE POOR CONDUCT OF DR MURRAY

Sir George Bowen sent the Colonial Office a copy of McIntyre's report of 30 March 1866 (which had appeared also in the *Age* on 30 May 1866 and the *Brisbane Courier* on 14 June 1866). Bowen comments that the Gelliot [Gilliat] River where McIntyre had been encamped is supposed to be a tributary of the Cloncurry River, but may enter the Flinders higher up than the Cloncurry. The camp near Mount Bowen, named by Landsborough would be in the vicinity of 19° 12' S, 140° 55' E. Mr A. C. Gregory believed the 'Docker' is a tributary of the Barcoo, which joins it from the north west in about 26° S; the Mueller is probably a tributary of the Thomson River coming in on the west side at about 24° S. I think A. C. Gregory placed the Barcoo and the Thomson too far to the west.

Bowen also had noted that the expedition had narrowly escaped perishing from want of water at or near Coopers Creek during the severe drought of early 1866. The expedition was deserted by Dr Murray, the second in command and surgeon, and by others who had returned to the settled districts.

The circumstances surrounding this had not yet been fully explained. (27)

The drought referred to by Bowen had in fact commenced in early 1865 and was at its worst in late 1865 in the Coopers Creek area.

I was able to find one contemporary and two later accounts, apart from those of McIntyre and Barnett, of the events surrounding the near disaster the party suffered at Coopers Creek. It is in regard to this that my earlier remarks, about the fatal mistake made by Dr Mueller and the Ladies Committee, can be explained now.

Dr James Patrick Murray, whom they appointed second in command and surgeon of the expedition, was a peculiar person to say the least. He had a comfortable social background, a manner that could win friends when he wanted them, and an erratic streak that often came close to madness. He showed brilliance at times whilst practising medicine in Melbourne, but all too soon he had involved himself in several disreputable incidents. Because of these his family disowned him. He was for a while on the Staff of the Victorian Benevolent Association and was found to be dosing his patients with morphia to keep them quiet whenever he felt like a few days off. He joined Howitt's expedition to search for Burke and Wills and apparently did nothing to blot his copy book.

However, the failure of McIntyre's expedition is to be attributed largely to Murray's gross misconduct.

On 27 March 1866 the *Age* published some correspondence which had appeared in the *Riverine Herald* on the preceding Saturday, 24 March. On 8 March a Mr George McGillivrey of Killara on the Upper Darling had written to say he had received a copy of the *Riverine Herald* in which he had found a letter from Dr Murray and the editor's comments upon it in a leading article. As the doctor had said McIntyre had made a faint attempt to find water and as the editor had appeared to be grasping at something near a proper view of the affair, Mr McGillivrey said he had no hesitation in sending the editor 'a verbatim copy' of a letter which he had received from Mr McIntyre and which would enlighten the editor on the subject of the disaster to the expedition. Mr McGillivrey stated he had always found Mr McIntyre to be a man of honor and a man who speaks the truth and he had no reason to doubt him in anything on this occasion. From Wilson's River on 17 December 1865 McIntyre had written —

I suppose you have been hearing news of the Leichhardt Search Expedition from time to time since

I left your quarter, and, no doubt, the last account has astonished you a little. The total loss of sixty six horses and the lives of ten men in danger, all in one day, is something quite new in exploring. I will, however, in as few words as possible, tell you all about it, as gathered from the evidence of the blacks and whites of the party, for I saw nothing of it myself. After leaving your place ... we arrived at the head of this river all right — 71 horses, 12 camels, 10 white men and 4 blacks. My brother, Anderson and Statue did not belong to the party; they came down to Bulloo from the Barcoo to see us start, and they intended to follow the Thompson (sic) up to where their cattle were ... We camped where there was an abundance of green grass, and water, for nearly a week. I then started out to look for water ... leaving Dr Murray in charge ... with instructions to move down the creek, if ... but not until the water was done. I returned the third day ... to move ... to a little water which I had found and which would have done for a few days ... I found that Dr Murray had sent the horses and camels six or eight miles down the creek ... although there was still ... water ... for three or four days longer. I was quite mad at this; all my plans were upset ... there was nothing for it but to take the whole expedition with me where ever I went as there was no use leaving anything in charge of ... Dr Murray; and bad as he was, he was the best I had to leave in any charge; and you know ... a person ... at the head of an exploring party ... often finds it necessary ... to go ahead and see ... [so as] not to risk the whole party at once ... on 25th November we all started for ... Cooper's Creek ... the distance being sixty six miles ... found the creek quite dry, and no certainty of getting water for 100 miles further ... The horses had been thirty six hours without water and the men about six hours. I then started to look for water and told the doctor to follow the tracks back to the last water ... finding water within ten miles of our former camp ... I immediately sent on fifty four quarts ... the main party reached the camp and the doctor ... lost all command of himself; he opened the brandy, got quite drunk himself, and made everyone else the same, and ... all went to sleep. About half the horses were unpacked, and the rest were left with their packs on. In the morning ... all ... were gone, packs and all. The doctor declared the expedition at an end, saying, "We may as well go the whole hog, boys; the Leichhardt expedition is ended". He again got quite drunk ... The end of it is—all lives saved, four horses only out of seventy one, all the camels, nearly half rations saved, all instruments saved; but to do all this I have travelled 600 miles within the last two weeks ... The expedition is far from being at an end. I have now M'Calman, Barnett, Belooch (East Indian) and two blacks ... with rations enough to take us to ... the North coast, and as soon as the camels are rested I will start on. Perhaps I am better — certainly safer — than before, for I am not depending on any one. Six years on the roads is too little for the doctor [McIntyre meant by this Murray deserved to be convicted and sentenced to this type of hard labour]. The blacks proved themselves far better than the white men. Billy

saved the lives of four men when they were exposed to a glaring sun when in a state of helpless drunkenness. One of the black boys was ninety hours without water, and then was not so helpless as the doctor when twenty four hours without. Had it not been for the doctor and his confounded brandy all the men and sixty of the horses would have been into water in thirty hours or less ... I have found water about 25 miles NW from here ... and will remain there till the camels get all right. You need not show this to anybody as the less said about it the better. It will be all found in my journal when I return. You will, however, be able to tell anyone who contradicts what I have here stated that they are wrong. I have no doubt that the doctor will spread reports to my detriment, but if he does he may look out when I return. M'Donald and Gray will no doubt support him. They no doubt will say they were not drunk. The doctor acknowledged to having taken three quarters of a pint. They, at all events, finished six bottles between them ... I send this hurried note by private hand up the Barcoo. It may reach you some time, and it may not. I have no writing material, only these leaves of my note book.

It is obvious that McIntyre did not want hearsay reports about what happened at Coopers Creek to proliferate. He was looking forward to telling all the facts in person and damning Dr Murray beyond redemption. However, he realised he could be absent a long time and accordingly by way of a form of insurance placed his account of events in the hands of his friend McGillivrey so any mischievous reports to his detriment could be answered; and that is just what happened. In the following report the person making it has located Anderson with the wrong McIntyre initially. Certainly the coming of Donald McIntyre, Anderson and Statue to see the expedition off, as Duncan McIntyre says in his letter, could cause someone like Kruger to garble the tale and place Anderson with the expedition instead of merely visiting it.

Mr Kruger wrote to his brother Bernhard of Rutherglen, Victoria, about April 1866 to say that whilst on his way back from the Warrego River he had met and talked to a Mr Anderson. The latter said he had been looking for new country on the Paroo (Mitchell's Victoria) and hearing that McIntyre was on the road, he made up his mind to join him. He met McIntyre at the Bulla (Bulloo), a creek between the Paroo and Coopers Creek. Having seven horses of his own he succeeded in joining the expedition. The expedition moved on to a station occupied by a Dr Hutchinson (from the Ovens district in Victoria) where all going well they moved to a waterhole 35 miles away. From this was a journey of seventy five miles to the next waterhole on Coopers Creek. The whole party set out. All the animals were heavily laden and

suffered greatly, being three days without water. To McIntyre's great distress, on reaching Coopers Creek, it was found that the bed of the creek, eighteen months ago full of water, was now completely dry. There were only two courses of action open; to advance or retreat. The latter having been decided on, McIntyre with either Belooch or one of the aboriginals (it is not clear which) returned with two camels in advance of the main party intending to rejoin it with a supply of water. Murray was to bring the rest of the party back to the last waterhole. McIntyre got to the waterhole, loaded up, and returned to meet them. Meantime this is what happened. Scarcely was McIntyre out of sight when Murray called a halt, and knife in hand ripped up the bags of flour, in which were concealed several bottles of brandy. All excepting Barnes (according to one report), or Anderson on his own say so, drank of the spirit until they were delirious and then fell into a drunken stupor. The fifty or sixty horses were abandoned *en masse* and wandered away with their packs and saddles on to die in agonies of thirst. Only three were saved.

Barnett says that it was owing to him that the calamities which happened were not far greater, for though he could not prevent what took place, he did prevent Dr Murray from serving the men with spirits of wine, which would, in all human probability, have occasioned loss of life.

Kruger said that McIntyre dismissed Murray and Gray, McDonald and Barnes elected to go with him. McIntyre was said to have given them one packhorse and one of the aboriginals went with them as a guide ... They went first to Dr Hutchinson's station and after a three day rest went on to Charleville on the Warrego River (28).

It should be noted again that McIntyre says that Anderson had been with his brother Donald and neither of them were ever members of the expedition.

McIntyre's statement about Murray, bad as he was, being the best he had to leave in charge might seem to show a lack of confidence in Barnett. It must be remembered, however, Barnett held no office in the expedition, was in fact a supernumerary and finally he was only 24 years of age. His being placed in charge could have been resented by other members of the party.

Not unexpectedly Murray began excusing himself and accusing McIntyre for the debacle at Coopers Creek before he even got back to Melbourne. What had prompted George McGillivrey and the *Riverine Herald* to publish McIntyre's letter on 24 March 1866 was a letter

written by Murray from Wallumbilla in Queensland on 4 January 1866 to a Dr James which was first published in the *Bendigo Advertiser* and then on 7 February 1866 in the *Riverine Herald*. Murray infers that McIntyre had been rash in trying to reach Coopers Creek from Labrine Creek (Wilson River). Then he talks of McIntyre's 'faint effort' to examine Coopers Creek for waterholes. The retreat to the last water supply is covered, but there is no mention of brandy. All the Victorian portion of the party resolved to go no further. Three returned with Murray, but one remained with McIntyre (at his urgent request) until he could get another hand. The men of the party were obliged to resort to the most horrible expedients to quench their burning thirst.

The editor of the *Riverine Herald* felt this letter left many matters unexplained. The chief of these were whether Murray had left McIntyre to his fate and the circumstances surrounding the break-up of the expedition.

On 28 February 1866 the *Riverine Herald* published an account of an interview the *Bendigo Independent* had had with an experienced bushman recently returned to Sandhurst from the Wilson River (or Lubina (sic) Creek) in Queensland. This man said he had met returning members of the Leichhardt's Search Expedition; the circumstances relating to the break-up of the party were not at all creditable to those whom he had met.

When the *Riverine Herald* published McGillivrey's and McIntyre's letters on 24 March 1866 the editor in a scathing editorial soundly castigated Murray for his misconduct. In passing he expressed the opinion that it must be highly satisfactory to the friends of Mr Barnett, a son of Dr Barnett of Sandhurst and who had accompanied Mr McIntyre in his (earlier) gallant journey across the continent, to learn that Mr Barnett had remained true to his leader.

On 27 March 1866 Murray, by then in Melbourne, wrote a letter to the *Melbourne Herald* endeavouring to refute McIntyre's accusations. He said there was a very minute consumption of brandy (barely a quarter of a bottle) and it only had been consumed, in his case, to give him strength to work at unpacking the loads of the camels. The *Riverine Herald* republished this letter on 30 March and the editor again castigated Murray for his desertion of McIntyre and asked also why the Committee should wish to conceal the break-up of the expedition from the public.

On 29 March Murray wrote a further letter to the *Melbourne Herald*. He may have had help with

this as it is a much better written missive and facts are better marshalled than in his earlier letters. Murray denied his moving animals from where McIntyre had told him to keep them had caused undue delay (three hours only) in the moving off of the expedition. McIntyre was in a bad humour and his anger was responsible for him making rash moves. This letter was reprinted in the *Riverine Herald* on 4 April 1866 and accompanied by a copy of the editorial from the *Melbourne Leader*. This last expressed the opinion that it was a dreary and disgraceful story which had come to light. It had not been the 'correct thing' for Dr Murray to have consumed any brandy because of the demoralising effect his example had on the rest of the party. Had Mr McIntyre and the blacks also yielded to the fascinations of the bottle as the only possible source of strength, the expedition, if not the lives of the explorers, would have been brought to a ignominious end. The view was expressed that it was a pity the exposure had come before McIntyre's journal became available.

The *Riverine Herald* pointed out that McIntyre knew nothing of Murray's communications to newspapers. McGillivrey and the *Riverine Herald* alone were responsible for the publication of McIntyre's letter and subsequent comments.

Murray's allusion to Barnett as the one Victorian who stayed with McIntyre only at his urgent request was an insult to Barnett. The *Riverine Herald* did not believe for one moment that Barnett required any urgent pressing, or pressing at all, to stay with his leader.

The fiery editorial concludes by accusing Murray of incapacity and cowardice. If Murray does not like this, he knows where to find his remedy. A classic example of 'sue and be damned to you'.

Despite the lambasting Murray was receiving he was claiming it was he who had saved the expedition and that McIntyre should never have been placed in charge of it. His persuasive powers were such that there were many people who believed him. Thus on 11 April 1866 'A Subscriber' wrote to the *Riverine Herald* expressing support for Murray as 'a man of high minded principles and upright character' and claiming that he had been made a scapegoat.

The *Riverine Herald* printed on 2 May 1866 an interview with a Mr McDonald who had just come in from the Wilson River. This is the Neil McDonald mentioned later with whom McIntyre was able to trade some surplus stores for four horses after the debacle at Cooper's Creek. McDonald corroborated what McIntyre had to say

about Murray and expressed his indignation at the efforts of Murray to attempt to 'throw the blame of his own cowardice and indiscretion on Mr McIntyre'. Murray had told McIntyre he would leave the country, which was the only reason McIntyre had not written to Melbourne 'anything that would compromise the doctor'. Neil McDonald also revealed that Murray, W.F. McDonald and Barnes had caroused all day while Gray, McCalman and Donald McIntyre laboured at unloading the camels and stacking stores. Then when the three last-named, worn out by their labours, were sleeping Murray and his two confederates had moved off with the camels leaving the three sleeping men to their fate. This confirms the need for Barnett to have carried Donald McIntyre behind him on his horse during the retreat from Cooper's Creek.

On 9 June 1866 the *Riverine Herald* printed an article from 'A Darling Correspondent' who reviewed the whole matter and concluded his summing up by saying

there was no disaster till after the brandy was drunk. There was nothing disastrous about having to turn back. The only disaster was the loss of horses and stores, and if Dr Murray had kept sober these could have been saved. Perhaps Dr Murray thinks his returning to Melbourne 'the disaster'. It was a pity that he ever left it, and I would advise him in the future to confine his explorations to the Richmond Paddock or Fitzroy Gardens.

Subsequently Murray turned his hand to blackbirding and became a partner in the recruiting ship *Carl*. After kidnapping 70 natives in September 1871 a further 80 Buka men were kidnapped and the ship was grossly overloaded. The main method of kidnapping was to run down fishing canoes and then seize the men left floundering in the water. The natives in the crowded hold started fighting. Murray panicked and he and the crew started firing into the packed hold. Seventy natives were killed or badly wounded. The latter, although still living were thrown overboard with the corpses. Murray escaped the gallows by turning Queen's evidence. A letter his father wrote which the *Sydney Morning Herald* published on 23 May 1873 is a truly remarkable document. It reads:

As regards Dr. Murray, the celebrated *Carl* mancatching approver, whom I have for years cut off as a disgrace to creed, country and family — your condemnation of that cruel, unhappy being I fully endorse and add, although opposed to capital punishment on principle, that if any of the *Carl* crew murderers ever ascend the gibbet for the seventy kidnapped and cruelly slaughtered poor Polynesians, Dr. Murray should be the first, as head. (29)

THE DEATH OF McINTYRE

So much for Dr Murray; but a fresh and final disaster awaited McIntyre. The wanton loss of stores at Coopers Creek, as a result of Murray's misconduct, led to certain replenishments being required before the remainder of the expedition set off for the western interior. From the base camp on the Gilliat River McIntyre went in to Burketown, towards the end of April 1866, to purchase the required stores. He could not have gone in at a worse time. It happened that in late March or early April the ship 'Margaret and Mary' sailed into Burketown with its crew mortally ill from unknown fever which had been caught in Java. The captain alone of the ship's crew survived. The fever, assuming plague proportions, swept the town. It was the wet season, the climate oppressive, there was a want of proper provisions and medicines, and resistance to the disease was low. In April 60 persons fell ill and in May and June 1866 there were 40 deaths out of a population of 90. Of the survivors there were few who had not suffered an attack of the "Gulf fever" as it came to be called. For a while it looked as though Burketown might have to be abandoned, but the fever ran its course and by 1868 it had cleared up and the town site was no longer regarded as unhealthy. (30)

Whilst McIntyre had camped about sixteen miles from Burketown, where he remained from 20 April to 4 May, he frequently visited the township on expedition business. He reported on 4 May that he was following rumours of a white man among the aboriginals, but as previously revealed, on 23 May he fell ill with the Gulf fever while on his way to the base camp on the Gilliat River. There he died on 4 June 1866 and was buried on the east bank of a billabong by the Gilliat River. (31)

On 23 July 1866 Mueller released to the *Age* newspaper a communication from Mr John P. Sharkey, Queensland Crown Lands Commissioner for the Burke District with statements by Sloman and George Gracey as to the circumstances of McIntyre's death. Sharkey had written on 11 June. A sad fact emerges that although the expedition had a large medicine chest, McIntyre was unable to make use of it because all the labels were written in Latin. Having heard of this Sharkey set off for the camp on the Gilliat with some medicines which he thought might be of use, only to find on his arrival that McIntyre had died five days earlier.

The ladies of Melbourne sent a handsome gravestone, inscribed in both English and Gaelic, to be erected over McIntyre's grave. For many

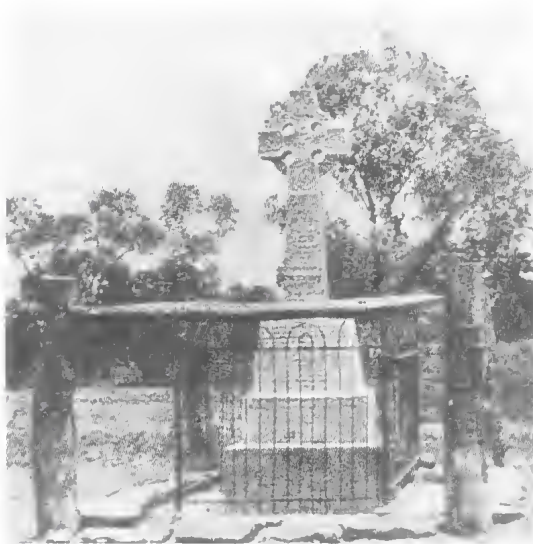


FIG 4. Gravestone sent by the ladies of Melbourne to mark the resting place of Duncan McIntyre.

years it lay unnoticed on the beach at Thursday Island, whence it had been shipped from Melbourne en route to its final destination.

It was finally brought in via Normanton and erected over the grave by the billabong, seven miles away from Dalgonally Station. (Fig. 4). (32)

By the time Duncan McIntyre died Donald McIntyre, with 1000 head of cattle, had taken up a run on Julia Creek, which became the Dalgonally Station I have mentioned. Duncan McIntyre had examined this fine area in 1864 and had directed Donald to it. Donald was to remain in occupation of this run until his death in 1907.

BARNETT JOURNEYS TO BURKETOWN

On 17 September 1866 the *Age* published a letter which Barnett had sent to the *Riverine Herald* after his recent return to Victoria. He deals at length with the cowardice and villainy of Dr Murray. It is in this letter he first mentions what he repeated in his letter published in the *Argus* on 3 December 1867; namely he physically prevented Murray from serving out spirits of wine (i.e. absolute alcohol) to the party. He then covers the reorganisation of the party and the journey to the Gilliat River, about 150 miles south of Burketown. McIntyre expressed the intention of remaining there about a month to spell the camels and make up the deficiencies of the party. Barnett goes on to say —

... and I, with his consent, and I am happy to say a testimonial of his satisfaction of (sic) my conduct, left

the party, as he could now easily get a man in my place. I started for Burketown, and when I arrived J.G. McDonald, Esq., was just starting a boat party to endeavour to find the mouth of the Leichhardt River. I became one of the crew, and we were successful in finding the mouth only two miles east of Albert Heads [i.e. where the Albert River enters the Gulf of Carpentaria]. We succeeded in getting up fifty miles to the crossing place, three miles below the falls, which are from fifty to sixty feet high, the water being under tidal influence below the falls. We returned to Burketown, Albert River, and I started overland for Port Denison, across the Flinders, the Norman, and the Gilbert, over the Gilbert Ranges, and on to the Lynd, down the Lynd and the Burdekin and thence to Port Denison. I think the Leichhardt navigable for about thirty miles. It possesses fine high banks, much to be preferred to the low mangrove fringed banks of the Albert. The Flinders, Leichhardt, and Albert and the tributaries are all pretty well settled, but there is still splendid pastoral country to the westward, and also there is some good country between the Flinders and the settlements on the Lynd. Respecting the half castes mentioned by Mr McIntyre, I can support his statement of their existence amongst the blacks about the country he speaks of. There can be no doubt of whites having been amongst them about ten or fifteen years ago, and it is likely enough there are still some. I think the northern country is likely to become as valuable to the miner as it is undoubtedly to the squatter.

Barnett had been released from the expedition on 24 March 1866. He received £35 wages, which were due to him. As it was necessary to conserve his funds he walked two hundred miles to Burketown, alone and unarmed at a time when armed horsemen made up parties of threes and fours for mutual protection. His eyesight was affected by ophthalmia, and semi-blind he travelled the last one hundred miles through the bush in three days without anything to eat. At no stage does he give a reason for leaving the expedition and any effort on my part to assign a reason could only be pure conjecture.

There is no doubt he was resilient, when so soon after his arrival in Burketown he took the opportunity to augment his funds by taking employment with J.G. McDonald. This man, with a small party, had visited the Plains of Promise in 1865. He discovered a more practicable route for cattle and sheep to the pastoral lands on the Flinders. He did not settle in the Gulf country, although he investigated much of that country. He had a run at Carpentaria Downs (nearly 400 kilometres ESE of the Gulf) and resided in the Lower Burdekin area. On the completion of McDonald's examination of the Leichhardt River Barnett was returned to Burketown as he says.

No steamer or other vessel being available at Burketown, nor the early arrival of one being anticipated, Barnett was forced to travel overland to Port Denison (Bowen). He took ship to Sydney. By this time having used up his small financial resources he was compelled to walk to Echuca in Victoria.

EVENTS AFTER MCINTYRE'S DEATH

After Duncan McIntyre's death, Dalgonally became the base for the expedition. Donald McIntyre appears to have exercised the role of field supervisor, but does not seem to have participated actively in the exploration. McCalman was joined by a Mr W.F. Sloman (to act as leader), Dr White, a medical man and G. Wildish (sic — Wildish). Dr White had 'performed great exertions' to look after the fever stricken population of Burketown. Landsborough, who filled the dual roles of magistrate and crown lands commissioner there, spoke highly of the service Dr White had rendered. We learn also from a report from him that Dr White had not escaped the fever himself and that McCalman and Donald McIntyre also had suffered from it.

On 22 November 1866, over five months after Duncan McIntyre's death, Dr Mueller forwarded, with a letter to the editor of the *Age* at the wish of the ladies of the Leichhardt Search Committee a copy of the journal of the late Duncan McIntyre compiled by Mr. Sloman from the diary and field books of the lamented explorer, and very recently received through Donald Campbell, Esq., of Glengower.

The compiled journal adds little to what has been said already about the expedition up to the time of McIntyre's death. It confirms that Barnett joined the expedition on the Paroo on 10 September 1865. He had replaced a man named Steward. The Journal amply testifies what a valuable and useful part Barnett filled in the expedition.

It does reveal that Donald McIntyre was with the expedition until 4 December 1865. This substantiates Barnett's claim in the *Argus* of 3 December 1867 that for one whole day, during the retreat from Coopers Creek to the nearest water, he carried Donald McIntyre behind him on his horse with the result that the horse 'knocked up' and Barnett, himself, was compelled to walk many miles 'under the scorching sun, with fearful agonies of thirst' upon him.

Donald and Anderson left the expedition when Dr Murray, Gray, McDonald and Barnes did. According to this account the four last mentioned

were given two out of the three surviving horses to help them get back to the nearest centre; not just one as stated in Kruger's account. A reason is given for Duncan McIntyre electing not to go on with anyone else but McCalman, Barnett and Belooch. He said he had no means of taking them due to the loss of so many of the horses at Coopers Creek. Thus the disaster is glossed over and no blame is attributed to anyone.

On 26 March 1866 reference is made to Barnett having left the expedition. That his departure must have been without hard feelings on either side is confirmed, because he accompanied Duncan McIntyre and Welbo to the Flinders on 26 March and then parted company with them so he could carry on to Burketown.

Donald McIntyre must have wasted no time after leaving the expedition, because by 27 March 1866 the journal refers to his station on a waterhole (Dagonally) near the River Gilliat and about three and a half miles north of Duncan's depot camp. He must have had little gratitude in his makeup in the light of his later treatment of Barnett.

McIntyre was able to make good some of his loss of horses in a small way on 16 December. A Mr Neil M'Donald who was in charge of some cattle and then camped on the Wilson River heard of the disaster from the returning party. He concluded McIntyre had more stores than he could take on without horses. He called at the camp at Safety Camp and offered on 9 December to exchange four horses for some of the surplus stores. The exchange was made on 16 December.

The journal was long and occupied several columns in the issues of the *Age* on 23, 24 and 26 November and 1 December 1866.

Dr Mueller carried his apologia even further for in the 1867 issue of *Justus Perthes Geographical Institute Bulletin (Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes Geographischer Anstalt 1867)* edited by Dr A. Petermann and published at Gotha in Germany there appeared an article entitled 'McIntyre's Diary of his Journey from the Darling to the Gulf of Carpentaria 1865-1866' (McIntyre's *Tagebuch Seiner Reise vom Darling zum Golf von Carpentaria, 1865 bis 1866M*).

Much is made of the fact that although an expedition may fail in the eyes of the public if its initial goal is not reached, it has always great usefulness for the geographer, even if this is in areas not expected originally.

A number of examples are cited, but getting back to McIntyre it is said that although it had not been found what became of Leichhardt, yet

Geography has been rendered a priceless service, in that it has received a list of height measurements for

the first time of the relief of the large region between the Barcoo and the Gulf of Carpentaria ...

A short synopsis of the Course of the McIntyre expedition, along with detailed statements about its sad conclusion was carried in the previous issue of the *Geographical Bulletin* (pp. 365-368) [this would have been McIntyre's own account as set out in his incomplete letter of 2 May 1866 to Dr. Mueller], but since then Dr. Ferd. Mueller, whose efforts have largely given the expedition some standing, has published the diary left behind by McIntyre and edited for publication by his companion, Sloman. This diary was published in the *Age* (23rd. Nov., 1866 and following issues), so that we could reconstruct the route and record it on the map (Fig. 5).

The German article says no more than what was in the journal, published in the *Age* about what happened at Coopers Creek. McIntyre's version of the disaster to the expedition, published in the same newspaper on 27 March 1866 is blandly ignored by Dr Mueller in both the release to the *Age* and to the *German Geographical Bulletin*. Dr Mueller obviously would not have liked the full story to have been resurrected. Self-interest would have dictated this course, as well as chivalry towards the Ladies' Committee.

The matter having been put to rest in a 'decent' way, it was little wonder that Barnett, as will be seen, received short shrift when he advanced a claim for compensation in the latter part of 1867.

In the latter part of 1866 Sloman died suddenly from the combined effects of sunstroke and an organic disease of the heart, after having followed several of the Gulf Streams, but not succeeding in discovering any further traces of Leichhardt.

BARNETT AS LEADER

Barnett by then had been three weeks back in Victoria. He was requested by Donald Campbell to rejoin the expedition. Barnett was agreeable and returned to the depot camp at Julia Creek overland from Rockhampton, where he had arrived by steamer. Donald McIntyre then called on Barnett to assume command of the expedition. Letters from Barnett to the Ladies' Committee (dated 21 December 1866) and Donald McIntyre to Dr Mueller and Donald Campbell (dated, it seems, 22 December 1866) were taken by Belooch to Port Denison (Bowen) in the ship *Black Prince*. He left Julia Creek on 23 December and arrived at Port Denison on 11 January 1867. Belooch reported that the party were all well. A press item in the *Port Denison Times* of 12 January (copied in the *Australasian* on 23 February 1867) stated:

As to the party itself there appears to be some difficulty in obtaining a competent leader, and

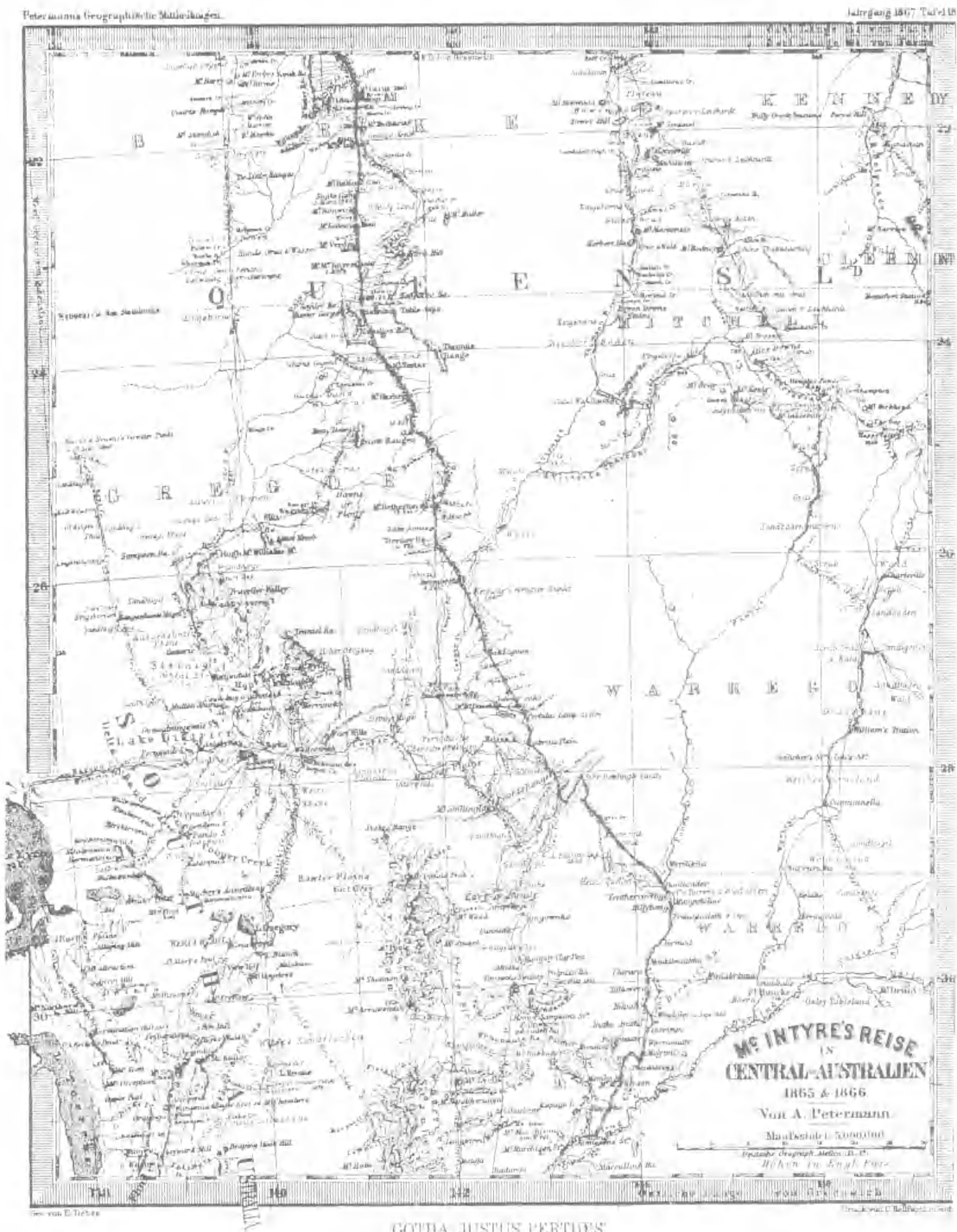


FIG 5. Map of the route taken by McIntyre published in the 1867 issue of *Justus Perthes Geographical Institute Bulletin*.

considerable dissatisfaction amongst the men in consequence thereof. We are inclined to hope that Mr. Christieson, of whose competency there can be no question ... will become the leader. Belooch has, we understand, sent telegrams to Dr. Mueller and the Ladies' Committee in Melbourne, and is awaiting the result. There are at present but three white men in camp, the whole party consisting of eight, the five who are not in camp being engaged in examining the surrounding country.

The *Port Denison Times* hopes for Mr Christieson were not fulfilled as the Ladies' Committee and Mr Donald Campbell confirmed the appointment of Barnett. (33) Before dealing with the final stages of the expedition under Barnett's leadership, some consideration should be given to the public feeling prevailing at the time he undertook the task.

An anti-McIntyre school of thought grew up in some quarters due to the vilifications of Dr Murray and statements such as that of Mr Kruger in his letter to his brother Bernhard:

He [Duncan McIntyre] purposely did not accept any salary from the committee in case any mishap should befall the party; he only looked out for himself. He afterwards selected a run on the Bulla, but, having no stockmen to put on, a Mr. Sullivan jumped it. When he found he had lost his run he pushed on to the Thomson River where he had no business to go, as his path and duty lies due north across the Thomson and on to the Barcoo, and up the Barcoo on the Flinders River, where he would come across Leichhardt's trail in 22 parallel, but never by going east into the settled districts. This is the second time that public money has been thrown away in such a shameful manner through bad management in not selecting proper leaders and men; it is no wonder people begin to drop to it, and will not give it more money.

... I am sure it is not the best way to get Leichhardt's trail — travelling through the settled districts of Victoria and New South Wales for 1,200 miles, wearing out man and beast to little or no purpose. (34)

A substantially similar letter appeared in a newspaper called the *M.A. Mail* from which it was reprinted by the *Riverine Herald* on 26 May 1866. It was claimed that Herman Kruger was a returned member of the Leichhardt Search Expedition. The *Riverine Herald* made short work of this claim, pointing out the only ones to return with Murray were McDonald, Gray and Barnes.

David Blair, in his *Cyclopaedia of Australia*, already referred to, says the expedition was an ignominious failure, the result of want of judgment and experience. Blair considered the marked trees on the Flinders were done by Landsborough, and the horses had been left by McKinlay.

Notwithstanding this McIntyre's honesty and bushcraft must have received more than a modicum of support when the provision and transport of the handsome gravestone by the Ladies' Committee is considered. Also Dr Mueller does not appear ever to have launched any criticism of McIntyre.

Perhaps Duncan McIntyre was one of those children of misfortune for whom any enterprise, once it commences to go wrong, despite all care taken and skill employed, can never be righted again. In his case the ultimate loss was his own life.

Nevertheless Barnett was to suffer from the ill feeling about the expedition which was prevalent.

BARNETT'S DIARY

Before presenting the text of Barnett's diary it is desirable that some anomalies should be cleared up. He refers to the Jenny River and William River of McKinlay. However, Barnett appears to have them in the wrong order; McKinlay finds and names the Jeannie (not the Jenny) on 30 April 1862 between his Camps 47 and 48. Then between Camps 48 and 49 on 1 May he discovered and named the William (35). Therefore the William must lie to the north of the Jeannie, but Barnett refers to them in the reverse order.

This has made even harder the preparation of a map of the area covered by the travels described in the diary. However, if the order of the William and the Jeannie is reversed it is possible to prepare a map which may describe the area traversed by Barnett and his party. McKinlay's meridians are not accurate. He is up to 20 miles out with some of his locations. Barnett does not give any latitudes let alone longitudes. However, his bearings are some help, but his failure to give a total mileage for every day makes it harder to truly delineate the route taken by his party and the area covered. Therefore the map (Fig. 6) must be regarded as largely conjectural. However, it does give an indication that the area searched could be circumscribed by latitudes 19°30'S to 21°S and longitudes 139°45'E to 141°30'E — 9500 square miles.

It should be noted that the party was beset by sickness — fevers and agues and in Barnett's case ophthalmia, which resulted in him having to be led by McCalman for some days as he was too blinded to see where he was going. Vagaries of weather also played a part in inhibiting the progress of the expedition. Excessive summer temperatures, thunder storms, flash floods and resultant boggy areas slowed down the transport

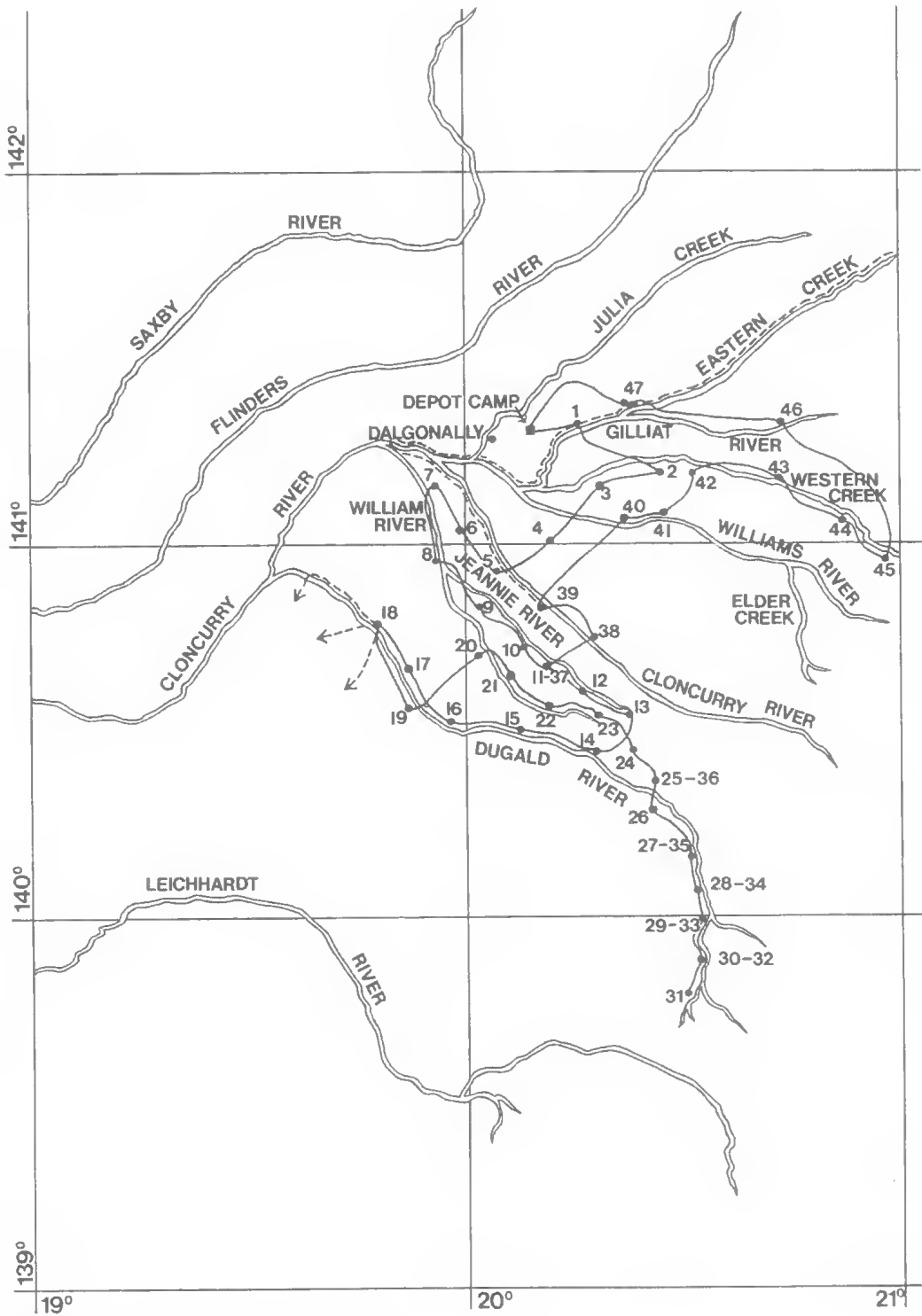


FIG 6. Map showing the conjectured search area.

animals (i.e. the camels) and limited the speed of exploration activities. An example of this occurred between 11 and 13 March 1867.

Barnett's camp identifications LE over a Roman numeral over B are to be interpreted as 'Leichhardt Expedition' followed by the number of the camp and then 'Barnett' as expedition leader.

Names of topographical features allocated by Barnett have not survived. The non-publication of his journal could account for this. The names never came into current usage, as, say, did those given to features by McKinlay which were published to the world at large in his journal and maps.

The diary commences on 20 January 1867, when Barnett describes the depot camp, the flora and fauna of the surrounding area and outlines what may be described as the guidelines of the expedition in its search for traces of Leichhardt. He details also the party personnel and the transport and stores logistics.

The diary now commences:
Sunday 20th January, 1867.

Depot Camp situated on a deep water-hole about 3 miles long and 100 yards wide in Julia Creek, an eastern tributary of the Gilliott which is a western tributary of the Flinders. The creek is only timbered here and there with small patches of scrub or a little worthless box; below the water-hole the creek runs out over low flat plains and above it, it becomes a very small creek occasionally breaking into several billibongs and then again forming large water holes. Its general course is E.S.E. and W.N.W.

The country on either side of the creek is a gently rising well grassed plain of dark loamy soil for about 2 mls when there is a slight sandy rise lightly timbered beyond which are gently swelling, well grassed undulations relieved by scrubby and lightly timbered sandy rises.

About 25 mls up the creek are several springs which cover many acres of ground the waters of which are slightly impregnated with soda, there are also two large springs of the same kind about 20 miles to the west of us situated near the Gilliott.

There was plenty of rain about a month ago so that the country is now looking its best and that is indeed beautiful. There is a fresh and wonderful exuberance of life. The whole country blooms in the magnificence of a tropical midsummer, creeping plants and many coloured flowers are plentiful over the plains which are covered with insects of every description.

The flies and mosquitoes are very numerous making the horses and camels very restless, many of whose eyes show the disagreeable effects of

these insects, two of the camels are quite blind in consequence of them.

There are several pelicans and ibis' on the water-hole together with numbers of water-hens, ducks and other aquatic birds.

Snakes, iguanas and lizards are very numerous in the adjacent country as well as flocks of Sturts flock pigeons.

The max. temp has been 111°F, in the shade but light zephyrs relieved the oppressive heat.

It is proposed that the party start tomorrow westward for these reasons "That all the other country has been well explored and most of it taken up by squatters who and whose men are continually riding over it and would most probably ere this have found traces of Leichardt did any exist. That, in consequence of the country becoming thus inhabited by white men the aboriginals have all receded to the west and to discover if any traces of Leichardt are amongst them we must follow. That if Leichardt arrived all safe at his marked tree on the Flinders, his most probable route would then or shortly after have been to the west, and that by thus travelling we shall cross all the western tributaries of the Flinders and on arriving at any one that has not hitherto been followed a camp may be formed and the creek searched both above and below our track and if possible communication established with the aboriginals, after leaving the water-shed of the Flinders all other rivers and creeks that may be meet with may be searched in like manner."

The party now consist of Wm. Fred Barnett (leader), J. McCalman (second in command) Dr. White (Medical officer) C. McIntyre, George Wildish and Myola (an aboriginal). We shall take with us all the camels consisting of 9 capable of bearing packs and 6 young ones, 10 horses and stores sufficient for 5 months.

Monday 21st January, 1867.

Started on a bearing of 230 over well grassed, gently swelling plains and in one hour and a half arrived at the middle creek, we continued on the same bearing over similar country crossing two flats subject to inundation and at 1.25 struck a blue bush flat below McIntyre Camp LII followed it up south for about a mile and arrived at the Camp I at 40 minutes past one. We travelled about 14 miles and found that the camels suffered very much being so fat and the young ones were a great nuisance. The camp is on a billybong of the Gilliott and there is very little water at it.

Large flocks of galars and cockatoos were flying about.

Tuesday 22nd January, 1867.

At 5 minutes past 8 on a bearing of 180 to avoid billybong and then 200 across the Gilliott, at 9.10 passed a spring Continued across creeks and billybong and to avoid water had to make more southey than desirable until about 12 o'clock when we struck over a low range running N.N.W. & S.S.E. beautifully grassed but covered with pudding stones. To the south the range is higher and thickly covered with gydia scrub. From the top of the range I observed about 2 mls W.S.W. a large belt scrub, over to the west a belt of timber which I believed to be a creek and I could see very high downs apparently on the other side. We arrived at the creek at 1.10 and camped on a billybong. There is not much water and as the rain appears not to have been so plentiful here I intend to go ahead tomorrow. We travelled 12 mls today. The max. temp has been 110°F. This country appears to be equal to any in the north as far as grazing capabilities are concerned and the creek we are now on most probably contains permanent water holes.

Wednesday 23rd January, 1867.

Leaving the party encamped at Camp II; which is branded $\frac{LE}{II}$ and B, I started with Mr. McCalman to examine the country to the west. We crossed several billybongs of the creek which has taken the name of Western, then over a fine high plain and in about a mile came on to a small channel sandy and the[n] crossed two sandy branches. We now could see a beautifully grassed rise before us the top of which is covered with patches of gydia scrub we continued in a west by north direction to the top of rise and could see that to the south by west it increased in height and the scrub became more dense, we observed a range running sou-west and nor-west about five miles distant. At about 4 mls from Camp II we arrived at a small dry creek running south which appears to continue into the range when it is thrown round into Western Creek. Continuing in a west by north course we crossed a small spinifex ridge and then for three miles over well grassed plains when we again came on to spinifex covered with decayed ant-hills and stunted apple leafed gums with occasional stunted bloodwood and bohemia trees. After travelling over this kind of country for about seven miles and seeing no prospect of a change ahead, we turned east and continued for 10 mls over similar desert country crossing several heads of the small creek we crossed in the morning when we came on to well grassed plains and gydia scrub and in five miles struck the Western Creek which

has here no sandy channel. We crossed it and followed it up three miles to camp It was my intention to have travelled west from Camp II but the country I have seen today causes me not to attempt it as the camels are in no condition for hard work. I shall therefore follow down this creek a few miles and then strike about NNW for the Cloncurry waters

Thursday 24th January, 1867.

Started at 8.20 a little to the east of north over well grassed plains which run back from the creek about three miles and then rise to a low well grassed range running nearly parallel with the creek timbered with patches of gydia scrub. On the opposite side of the creek there is a scrubby ridge running along within a mile. As we proceeded the plains became wider and dotted with small lagoons filled by shallow billybongs out of the creek. At 11 a.m. we crossed a billybong and camped at a good water hole in it as I see there is apparently a break in the scrubby ridge on the other side of the creek There is scarcely any defined channel in the creek here, it running in a broad flat cut up by small channels.

In the evening heavy rain clouds rose to the north and vivid lightning was observed in the same direction The max temp has been 115 F in the shade today Branded a tree LE

III
B

Friday 25th January

Started across the creek at 8 AM on a bearing of 330. Over break in range which open into well grassed stoney undulations intermixed with the patches of gydia scrub, Then crossed belts of gydia and well grassed stoney plains alternatively At 11 AM arrived at a spinifex ridge and followed down a small water course about same bearing to a blue bush swamp with water timbered with india-rubber trees. We made a little east to avoid swamp and then came through a small belt of gydia to a well grassed plain and in half a mile struck a branch of a large creek we can see farther to the north. The country travelled over today is very beautiful in appearance and if it proves to be well watered will be very valuable to squatters. I went over to the large creek and found that it is a large sandy channel in which there is at present water but it will not last long The timber consist of very fine gums and gum saplings together with box which runs back from the creek about half a mile on either side Heavy rain clouds are rising all round us and I observed a rainbow at 6 PM.

bearing 110. The max temp has been 116 today in the shade. Tree branded $\frac{LE}{IV}$

$\frac{IV}{B}$

Saturday 26th January 1867

Started at 8.20 on a bearing of 340 over creek running south and in half an hour arrived at another running in a similar direction which we followed up into a creek coming from the west and running to the nor-east which I think the Cloncurry and the creek we followed up merely an anabranch of it We crossed the creek coming from the west and travelled in a north by west course through a box forest crossing two small billybongs running west by south. At length we arrived at a well grassed stoney rise lightly timbered with gydia and acaciae which we travelled up and crossed a little spinifex We struck the head of a small water course and followed it down to a blue-bush swamp and crossing a small gydia ridge arrived at a small creek running north. The max temp has been 117 F Toward sundown heavy rain clouds gathered to the N.S and E and about 8 PM there was a slight fall of rain Vivid lightning was observed to the S.W and N.E.

Sunday 27th January 1867

Camped. The day has been fine with gusty breezes Max temp 113F. Heavy rain clouds are gathering all round us At about 7 PM there was a smart fall of rain but having received warning we were all prepared having one tent over the stores and in the other we all managed to make ourselves comfortable.

Monday 28th January 1867

In consequence of the packs getting in disorder last night by reason of the rain we did not get started till 9 AM. After travelling for about a mile west over sandy ridges on which there was a sprinkling of spinifex, we came on to a blue bush swamp which contained water In order to avoid it we were obliged to make a little southing Continuing a little to the north of west we crossed a small dry creek running north and then passing through some gydia scrub in about two miles from camp came on to a small but very good creek running NNE in which there was large numbers of water-fowl of different descriptions and round the edge of the water heavy tracks of blacks We had to make to the east a little for a crossing, we then went through a belt of gydia and on to lightly timbered stoney undulations which soon became plains and then again undulations At 1.30 PM we

came on to a small creek with water timbered with gydia which we crossed bearing N We then proceeded for two miles over stoney well grassed undulations lightly timbered with blood wood and acacias and at past 2 PM, arrived at a small creek running about north timbered with box gydia and india-rubber trees called Whites Creek The max. temp. has been 115 and it threatens rain.

Tuesday 29th January 1867

Having made all snug last night we had scarcely turned in when it commenced to rain and continued until 1 AM this morning. During the storm a very fierce stroke of lightning struck close up followed by a most terrific peal of thunder The state of the ground and our blankets causes me to spell today.

Wednesday 30th January 1867

Started at about 8 O'clock across creek travelling west and to the north of it we passed through some gydia scrub and then on to stoney undulations with patches of scrub and acacias. Then over well grassed plain to a small water course running north and again plains to a small ridge timbered with acacias, Plains succeeded until $\frac{1}{4}$ past 10 we arrived at a creek running north generally running in a number of small billybongs but every few miles joining in a good water hole. We crossed the creek and a billybong of it and travelled over a rising plain on to high sandy flats timbered with blood-wood gums, box and acacias and covered thickly with portulac We found that the rain had been much heavier here and we made a very zig-zag way in order to avoid the boggy patches On arriving at a small creek running south about which there is a good deal of blue bush we camped at a water hole in it. The max temp has been 118 F and heavy white headed clouds foretold rain which commenced very heavily about 3 PM and continued till nearly sundown

Thursday 31st January 1867

The ground being too boggy for the camels to travel the party encamped. With McCalman, I started west and in about five miles travelling over country at first similar to that about the camp and then open plains. We came on to a small billybong which we crossed and in a few minutes came on to a very large dry sandy channel which I believe to be the William of McKinlay. We crossed it and in about a mile came on to a billybong containing water we then returned to camp It threatens more rain, anyhow we shall be compelled to continue in camp in consequence of the state of the plains

Friday 1st February 1867

The thermometer reached to 123°F and heavy rain clouds and thunder storms have been all round us today but the sky cleared towards the evening and the night was clear and starlight. The everlasting "parquill poker" of the frogs and the musical wheel-like click of the locusts are heard throughout the night.

Saturday 2nd February 1867

Started at half past 8 down the small creek on which we camped until we came to a crossing; we then travelled generally sou-west over lightly timbered sandy ridges and small plains. At 11 AM. we arrived at the William, in which now a small stream of water is flowing. The river possesses high banks timbered with gum box, cabbage palms and fig trees and a few small beef-wood trees. We followed up the river for about 3 miles passing a box flat and camped.

As Leichardt might have travelled on this river we shall follow it up and then if possible cross on to another water course farther west which we will follow down.

Sunday 3rd February, 1867.

Camped as Camp VIII. The day is fine and clear with a cool breeze from the sou-sou west.

LE

Tree branded VIII

B

Monday 4th Feb 1867.

Travelling up the William a little to the east of south we passed several box flats and then on to the fine high banks of the river very well timbered. At about 3 mls a point of the river compelled us to make a little easting and then on our former bearing we passed over fine open well grassed glades with clumps of box running parrallel with them. Two miles brought us on the lightly, timbered sandy undulations and we then changed course to the west of south and in a short time came on to some small billybongs of the river. Observing a blacks signal fire bearing 225 we made for it and struck the river and continued up it until past 12 PM. Toward evening my head became very bad and I soon found I had an attack of fever but I must endeavour to get out of this camp tomorrow.

LE

Tree branded IX

B

Tuesday 5th Feb 1867

Generally south up creek for about 3 mls when I noticed a good waterhole in the William and came on to some most beautiful country much higher than that we had been previously travelling over composed of well grassed stoney abrupt undulations amongst which various small creeks make their way and small plains of red loom magnificiently grassed and rich with herbage, relieved by clumps of gydia and acaciae. We crossed several small creeks and changing bearing to the west of south again struck the river and after following it up a short distance came on to a deep narrow channel coming from the east and camped.

LE

Tree branded X

B

Wednesday 6th Feb 1867

Feeling too unwell to travel I desire Mr. McCalman to cross the river and examine the country about "He informs me that up the river it bears SW. There is a blood wood ridge running along about 2 mls back off the river and two dry broad shallow billybongs. About a mile up the creek on this side a billybong joins it containing some good water holes.

Thursday 7th Feb 1867.

I am still very weak and in much pain and consequently remain encamped.

Friday 8th Feb 1867

Camped. The creek commenced rising towards evening and heavy clouds threatened rain, it commenced raining lightly about 10 PM.

Saturday 9th Feb 1867.

Heavy rain from 3 to 5 AM. The day has been very close and oppressive, the sky is dark and wild all round. By 12 noon the river had risen 9 ft. The rain recommenced heavily about sundown and continued throughout the night.

Sunday 10th Febry 1867

The day has been fine and the river commenced to fall rapidly.

Monday 11th Feb 1867

Started with Mr. McCalman up billybong to river about 6 mls. It is very much broken here and the main channel bears a good deal to the west becoming broader and shallower. A small branch comes in from the south. On returning to camp Mr. McCalman started after the camels but was

unable to find one of the males for a considerable time At length falling in with some fresh blacks tracks he followed them and found that they had driven him into the river and very severely maltreated him They had only just left the camel when McCalman found him no doubt it was him who disturbed them This little incident shows that the blacks are both bold and hostile about here

Tuesday 12th Feb 1867

Started about SE to avoid the deep narrow channel of the creek running WNW and on striking it up where it is broken and timbered with gydia we crossed it and travelled over a well grassed plain to a good water hole in the billybong of the William. Colin McIntyre brought word that there are some tracks of cattle up the river — I intend tomorrow for Mr. McCalman to examine them and see if there is chance of getting a bullock and I will endeavour to overhaul the blacks.

LE

Branded tree XI

B

Wednesday 13th Febr 1867

Started with Myola down to Camp X and found there had been two blacks at it yesterday. We continued down the river and saw a great many fresh tracks of blacks After about nine miles travelling we arrived at a large camp where they had slept last night and about half a mile further came on to about ten men and a number of boys most of them busy gathering honey On perceiving us they all immediately precipitated themselves into the river and shortly disappeared not however until I had been able to show them that our camels were not to be maltreated with impunity. Having examined their camp and tools we returned to Camp XI.

Mr. McCalman informed me that the cattle tracks seen by Colin McIntyre were too old to lead him to expect cattle in the immediate vicinity

Thursday 14th February 1867

Encamped, shooting ducks

Friday 15th February 1867

Crossed billybong and proceeded up the river to where a deep creek joined it coming from the south, the river coming from the sou-west We then recrossed the billybong on which we camped last night, it coming out of the river just below the deep creek. The ground being very much cut up by deep narrow gutters we made out on the high downs on the east side of the river After five or six miles

travelling we crossed a creek timbered with gydia and box coming from the sou-sou east and I then observed two mounts one bearing 235 on the east side of the William and other bearing 260 which I have named after Mr. McCalman of the Expedition, I noticed these bearings at 11.6 AM; Bearing 260 for Mount McCalman over inferior plains. Over sandy soil timbered with Bloodwood, Bohemia and Apple leafed Gums at about 2 PM. struck the river which we crossed and camped. I proceeded 2 mls on a bearing of 260 to Mt. McCalman and observed another mount which I have called after the late Mr. W.F. Sloman

LE

Tree branded XII

B

Saturday 16th February 1867

Passing over sandy soil country timbered with Bohemia Bloodwood and Gums to hard stoney plains at three miles bearing 280 we made Mount Sloman which I ascended and observed a long heavy range about 25 mls distant the south end of which was bearing 290 which I will call McIntyre's Range after our much lamented and talented leader Duncan McIntyre, I likewise observed a mount bearing 320 to which we proceeded and camped on a small creek running east-nor-east which I afterwards found to be the Jenny

Sunday 17th February 1867

Camped.

LE

Tree branded XIII

B

Monday 18th February 1867

Leaving the party encamped I started with Dr. White on a general bearing of 290 over high broad stoney ridges, At 3 miles struck a creek which we ran down and found it rapidly increased in size running north and east. We travelled 280 over high stoney ridges to a small creek running N.N.E. Again over stoney ridges which soon became covered with quartz surfacing triodia and apple leafed Gums and passing over a quartz range we came on to a small creek. Crossing another Quartz range we came on to another small creek which we followed down until it meet the previous one on then we returned to Camp.

Tuesday 19th February 1867

Removed the party to a water-hole on the first creek I had struck yesterday and camped as it threatened heavy rain which luckily held off until

we had made all snug when it commenced heavily and continued for about 2 hours.

LE

Tree branded XIV

B

Wednesday 20 February 1867

Travelled with the party over the first quartz range and followed the creek down north & north-east with much difficulty the ranges coming in abruptly and travelling on the top of which was rendered almost impossible by deep gutters running at right angles into the creek. Having followed down the creek some distance we were able to cross and make on to the stoney ridge and follow down creek until we meet another coming from the south-west which we crossed. Continuing down creek we struck another from the west-south-west which was so deep and narrow and whose banks were so precipitous that we were compelled to follow it up some distance until it broke into several small ones which we crossed. Finding travelling along the creek most difficult I struck over a timbered flat for a rock bearing 290 which I ascended and observing nothing but frightfully broken and scrubby country to the westward I changed bearing to 320 on to a quartz reef from which I observed small plains to the north-east. Changing bearing to 60 we continued over a timbered flat to a small plain, seeing there was a water course on the other side I travelled east until we struck it but finding it a confused mass of deep gutters timbered with gydia I continued along plain a little to the east of north and observing the gydia lose itself in gum I made a little more easting and struck the creek, the heads of which we had crossed in the morning, which had now become a large sandy channel and which I believe to be the Dougall of McKinlay

LE

Tree branded XV

B

Thursday 21st February 1867

Travelling about north-east down river we crossed it and continued down over high sandy soil country lightly timbered with Bloodwood Beef wood Box and Gydia to a Lime stone ridge which ran abruptly into the river. Travelling along a large plain we struck the river at Duncan McIntyre's XLV Camp of his first expedition to the Gulf, the camp at which he found the two horses.

LE

Tree branded XVI

B

Friday 22nd February 1867

Leaving the party encamped I with Mr. McCalman followed along the bank of the river and in two miles came on to a lime stone ridge on which is the grave of Davy, one of Mr. McIntyre's black boys. There is a good water hole in the river here, We searched up and down the river and returned to camp

Saturday 23rd February 1867

Started at half past seven over sandy soil timbered with Bloodwood Beefwood Gums and Bohemias on to a large plain at 9 AM we struck a plain of timber and in a mile cross a small billybong. Over hard sandy soil lightly timbered with acaciae; crossed a sand ridge timbered with box and acaciae and then again on a hard sandy soil and small rich loom plains with occasional small timbered ridges. Recrossed billybong and followed it down to Camp 17 I started west by north and in a mile pulled the river which I found had decreased in size and making much easting I followed it down three miles without seeing any water nor does its appearance promise any ahead

LE

Tree branded XVII

B

Sunday 24th February 1867

Camped. We shot a good many ducks, There are numbers of emus about this country and I forgot to mention that about the country we travelled over from the William to the Dougall kangaroos are plentiful

Monday 25th February 1867

Travelling about north-east we passed over high lightly timbered plains and at a little more than a mile struck a large shallow water hole in billybong, Thence over well grassed plains entirely destitute of timber for three miles when they became lightly timbered and approaching the river the country became high and sandy timbered with box, gum and bohemias. A large blue bush swamp compelled us to make a little to the east crossing a small billybong which we followed down along a sandridge passing two large recent camps of blacks. The billybong making in for the river we left it crossing the sandridge on to a low plain and in a mile and a half struck the river and camped as it had been raining a little and threatened more. We had barely time to make all snug when we experienced such a wind storm that the pegs of our tent were torn from the ground and before we could set it again the rain came down as it were a sheet of water

Tuesday 26th February 1867

Crossed the Dougall to its west side on to long well grassed plains gradually rising for 2 miles to a broad rather stoney ridge bearing 30 down river along plains in four miles they became dotted with small clumps of gydia scrub with a line of gydia to the right fringing the river. Making a little more to the east the plains became lightly timbered with acaciae and in about a mile we came on to a billybong of the river timbered with box and india rubber trees and camped. It rained shortly after arriving in camp.

Wednesday 27th February 1867

The party encamped, Mr. McCalman and I started down the river and found that it is now cut up into many channels and has lost its former sandy nature its bed now being either quicksand or mud. The timber is principally box, gydia and india rubber trees with a few bohemias. On the west side a gydia creek comes from the ridge while on the east side is a high long plain well grassed. In the afternoon I crossed the river and followed it up over plains crossing which to the east I found them cut up by small water courses timbered here and there with box, I observed a number of turkeys and several native companions.

Thursday 28th February 1867

It having rained again yesterday the plains are too boggy for the camels we are therefore still camped, Mr. McCalman and McIntyre with Myola have started again down the river.

Friday 1st March 1867

Camped, Mr. McCalman and McIntyre up the river

Saturday 2nd March, 1867.

Rode over to creek on the west side of river, crossing which I entered a gydia scrub which was about two mls wide, Keeping a west course for seven miles over spinifex ridges crossing several small creeks which flow into the Dougall

Sunday 3rd March 1867

Camped at XIX. The river commenced to rise

Monday 4th March 1867

Steady rain with a reef-top-sail breeze from the sou-sou-west which in the afternoon became gusty and shifted to all points of the compass and the rain became heavier and continued until midnight

Tuesday 5th March 1867

A little rain in the morning, The country is in a frightfully boggy state.

Wednesday 6th March 1867

Rain again at 1 AM. Cleared towards daybreak Creek falling rapidly

Thursday 7th March 1867

Rode out in several directions to see if there was any chance of being able to travel but found the country in such a dreadfully boggy state that to attempt it would be useless. We had a few light showers in the evening

Friday 8th March 1867

The day promises to be fine. I, sincerely hope it may prove so, for being cooped up in this manner is anything but pleasant especially when such a short time has been allowed me

Saturday 9th March 1867

Fine during the day I rode over to the creek to the west and found it much flooded, managed to cross it and followed it about sou-west for five miles but could not find a crossing for the camels Travelling east I struck the Dougall and followed it down but could not find a crossing

Sunday 10th March 1867

Camped

Monday 11th March 1867

Finding it impossible to travel with the whole party on account of the boggy state of the country I determine to run down the river to find out into what it flows Accordingly started with Mr. McCalman across river with much difficulty and travelled down it about 15 miles general bearing 30. We now observed a spinifex ridge close in to the river on its west side and force it more to the east

Travelling on a bearing of 90 at five miles we had crossed several small channel of a water course which I believe to be the Jenny of McKinlay and then came on to a large water course having at this point besides billybongs two large sandy channels, the one being a billybong of the other This must be the William, Having crossed we followed down bearing 60 for five miles and camped on a small billybong

Tuesday 12th March 1867

On a bearing of 60 for six miles over well grassed plains Observing that the spinifex ridge on the west side of the Dougall appeared to force that river

close into the William we recross the William the Jenny and the Dougall and found their waters meet about here while their main channels run parallel with one another Having travelled about eight miles general bearing 25 we crossed the point of the spinifex ridge and observed to the east a large water course running north and south whose timber a little north of the point of the spinifex ridge joins the timber of the river we had just crossed This water course is the Cloncurry and Gilliott conjoined Bearing nearly north in about a mile and a half we came on to a camp of Mr Stomans situated about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile south of Mr. Palmers sheep station on a billybong of the Cloncurry and Gilliott conjoined. We now proceeded to return to Camp XIXB re-crossing the William to its east side and travelled over at first small plains to a great extent flooded and cut up by anabranches and small creeks coming off the rising acaciae timbered plains running between the William and the Cloncurry Then high and rather stoney plains, well grassed and on to hard sandy country to the billybong on which we camped last night.

Wednesday 13th March 1867

Travelled over loomey plains on to the sandy bank of the William which we crossed and having passed over a similar sand bank and loomey plain on the west side we came on to high well grassed stoney undulations until we arrived at the Jenny. Having crossed the Jenny we passed over rankly grassed gently swelling plains until we struck the Dougall three miles below our XIX Ca — Camp We crossed the river with some difficulty and arriving at the camp found all right

Thursday 14th March 1867

Started out to endeavour to find a crossing on the river for the camels, Found good crossing on all the channels except the main one and over this I determine to make a bridge which was made accordingly The bed of the river being principally quicksand to attempt crossing the camels through it would greatly endanger them

Friday 15th March 1867

Crossed the Dougall to its east side and bearing a little to the south of west over well grassed plains in two miles crossed a west branch creek of the Jenny Two miles farther on the same bearing brought us to the Jenny which we crossed and observed the timber of the William about three miles to the east. We followed up the Jenny five miles over loomey plains covered with good grass

and herbage and camped on a billybong From Camp XX I rode across the Jenny to its west side, its billybong stretching over about a mile of country Having recrossed about a mile up I struck over the plain passing over a low stoney rise in three miles I struck the William and followed it down to a Black's camp where I noticed they had beds raised fully five foot off the ground. I saw the tracks of a great many blacks but could [not] see the blacks.

Saturday 16th March 1867

Travelling a little to the west of south up the Jenny at first over loomey plains and with good herbage Then over a gently sloping hard sandy soil rise which soon became broken with small loomey plains and cut up by small creeks At about 6 mls at a water hole in a small branch creek I observed some blacks, I rode up to them but they cleared out leaving their weapons etc behind them We camped at the water hole and I tracked the blacks about half a mile west to the Jenny. I followed up the Jenny about three miles south, It is timbered principally with box with a little gydia and india rubber trees Travelling east about two miles crossed on a bloodwood ridge the head of small creek which I followed down to Camp XXI. Mr. McCalman and I followed down the river a short distance crossing its billybongs on to the main channel I intend leaving the blacks weapons etc uninjured and shall also leave a small present for them in case they come back

Sunday 17th March 1867

Camped. No appearance of the blacks There are large numbers of corillas, pigeons and a good many whistling ducks about.

Monday 18th March 1867

Crossed the small branch creek on which we camped and continued up the Jenny over rankly grassed plains crossing here and there a low hard sandridge, spurs of the bloodwood ridge running parallel with Jenny After travelling about six miles the plains became very rotten covered with coarse herbage and grass At two miles farther we struck a billybong of the river and camped. During the afternoon I followed up the Jenny and found it came from the south for three quarters of a mile and then from the east by south for three quarters of a mile Continuing up it a mile farther over high sandy country timbered with blood wood bohemia and apple leaved gums (for the ridge that had been running about parrallel comes close into the Jenny here) I came on to a black's camp which they had

lately left but found nothing interesting Crossing the Jenny I travelled west about three miles over a well grassed plain which then gently rises to a ridge timbered with patches of gydia

Tuesday 19th March 1867

Crossed the plain on a bearing of 136 at one mile to the point where the Jenny and ridge are together and where there is a good water hole Then on a general bearing of 126 for 2 miles over sandy soil timbered with blood wood apple leafed gums and bohemia and dotted with decayed ant-hills Passing through about half a mile of gydia scrub we came on to a small plain and then again on to sandy timbered country Here and there where the soil is hard are a few shallow lagoons fringed with polygynum bushes on one of which we camped having travelled about nine miles After dinner I followed up the Jenny about five miles sou-west and saw a mount bearing 210 I then crossed the Jenny and followed down to camp The channel where we followed it up this morning was a deep and narrow but above the camp it became wider having good holes and several billybongs

Wednesday 20th March 1867

Travelling about sou west we passed over rotten sandy country timbered with large gums and crossed a branch creek coming strangely from the east nor east In two miles the country improves it being red soil with clay-pans, timbered with gydia and then a plain dotted with acaciae and gydia bushes While travelling over this plain I observed a mount bearing 210 and shortly after another bearing 225 Crossing two small branch creeks we camped on the west side of the second having travelled nearly 12 miles After a spell I followed round the ridge from east to nearly west crossing the heads of a number of small water courses running from the mounts which bear from a point 200 yds 240 from marked tree commencing east 165.190.205.225.247.262 and 275. Noticed an eclipse of the moon

Thursday 21 March 1867

Dr. White reporting Mr. Wildish not fit to travel in consequence of an attack of fever the party remain encamped. I crossed the Jenny to its west side and following the ridge struck it again at a point which bears 270 from camp and found it here a sandy well defined channel timbered with gums a stoney ridge timbered with gydia running close along side. The reason for my thus circling was that the Jenny has about here hardly any perceptible channel it spreading over a low plain subject to inundation tho' occasionally there is a

deep narrow gutter The number of small creek coming in also rendered it difficult to determine where the main channel came from Having found it I followed up and from its position description and its course where I left it believe that we shall find the head of the Jenny to be the small creek we camped upon after leaving the William There are innumerable Kyber about who seem to fancy a rather bare plain which much resembles a race course

Friday 22 March 1867

Mr. Wildish being no better the party remained encamped. Mr. McCalman, McIntyre and Myola crossed on to the William and struck it between Camp XI & XII After following it down on its west side for some distance they recrossed on to the Jenny striking it where I turned back on Wednesday afternoon to camp and followed it up to our present camp On returning Mr. McCalman complained of not feeling well during his ride and ere long he was compelled to lay up. Dr White reporting it to be a severe attack of fever

Saturday 23rd March 1867

Encamped in consequence of the sickness of Messrs McCalman and Wildish. I imagine they must have brought it from our 19th Camp where we hove to for the rain. I am glad to say. I should think this healthy country. Luckily both horses and camels seem to fancy our camp; most probably its being free from mosquitoes which were very troublesome down the rivers.

Sunday, 24th March 1867

Camped. The water not being good at the camp I have been in the habit of fetching it from a water hole in a billybong of the Jenny situated where it would be imprudent to camp as the country is flooded at times.

Mr. McIntyre when out after the camels found a good water hole the good water hole about a mile to the north of this; I went over to and finding a good camp close handy and the country round about high and dry, deem it advisable to shift over tomorrow, Dr White agreeing with me that this is the best to do and is of opinion it will be attended with no bad results to the patients

Monday 25th March 1867

Moved the party to a water hole in the Jenny about one mile north of Camp 24. The patients stood the journey bravely

Tuesday 26th March 1867

Camped at 25

Wednesday 27th March 1867

Followed up the Jenny to Camp XIII

Thursday 28th March 1867

The Dr reporting that the patients tho' doing well would not be able to travel for a week I thought it would be well for me to visit the depot camp and send a report of our progress to the Ladies. I therefore started at break of day and travelling a little to the north of west arrived at the depot camp at sundown having travelled about 60 miles

Friday 29 March 1867

Saturday 30 March 1867

Sunday 31 March 1867

} At the Depot Camp

Monday 1st April 1867

Taking a course to the southward of my journey to the depot camp I travelled back to the Jenny. When crossing the Cloncurry I observed a number of blacks the women scattered about collecting portulac When they noticed me they commenced howling like so many native dogs Being encumbered with a pack horse and the day drawing to a close I did not attempt to hold any communication with them. It was dark when I arrived at the Jenny and it being very troublesome riding I camped

Tuesday 2nd April 1867

Followed up Jenny a mile to Camp 25 and found all right, McCalman recovered and Wildish much improved

Wednesday 3rd April 1867

Getting packs in order for a start tomorrow

Thursday 4th Apr 1867

Crossed the Jenny and travelling four miles over lightly timbered stoney ridges we arrived at the Creek on which is situated C14 and camped not being sure of water until we arrived on the Dougall and that journey being too far for our invalid

Friday 5th April 1867

On a bearing of 300 over stoney well grassed ridges. At five miles arrived at sandy soil timbered with blood, bohemia and gums which continued for about a mile when crossing a small branch creek we struck the Dougall and crossed it. Following up the Dougall we crossed our track coming down it to camp 15. Passing over lightly timbered sandy country covered here and there with quartz surfacing and a great deal broken by

branch creeks Observed north end of range running S by E and N by W bearing 260; travelling for this as well as the country would allow we arrived at a small creek running south (a tributary of the Dougall) at which we camped, The end of range bears now 270 & another 180

Saturday 6th April 1867

Continuing up the Dougall our general course was 200; the range running parallel with the river to our right. The country is becoming very rough We crossed a spur of the range that came bluff into the river The best of our travelling was when we could follow the small sandy frontage of the river

Sunday 7th April 1867

Camped on the Dougall surrounded by mountains—I am suffering from a severe attack of ophthalmia and in consequence I must give up the leading of the party to Mr. McCalman tomorrow as I cannot see where I am going

Monday 8th April 1867

Continued up the Dougall being compelled by the roughness of the country to travel in its bed. The country is rapidly rising and low ranges come continually bluff into the river, where this happens there is a bar of blue rock across the river in which there are slight indications of copper. We managed with much difficulty to make six miles south and camped on a small sandy frontage of the river

Tuesday 9th April 1867

Travelling generally in the bed of the river we made about eight miles sou west. We could only camp in the sandy bed of the river as it would be difficult to find a level piece of ground large enough for a camel to sit down elsewhere. The camels and horses have to content themselves with the small green fringe on the river bank

Wednesday 10th April 1867

Continued nearly west up the bed of the Dougall, At half a mile from camp we passed a tributary coming from the north of west and at three miles entered a gorge where the bed is generally a blue rock and on either side the ranges come high and bluff on to the river Half a mile took us through the gorge and the high ranges then recede from the river tho' they can be seen coming in again ahead forming a kind of basin Having proceeded about three miles from the gorge we camped again on the sandy bed of the river, Mr. McCalman rode up the river and at one mile

from camp came to a perpendicular rise in the bed of the river of about four feet. Three miles further he came on another similar rise He found the country on both sides of the river quite impassable for camels it being rocks of quartz, sharp iron stone ridges and parallel strata of slate standing on end with wondrous deep narrow crevices between them He saw what he believed to be the main range about ten miles ahead

Thursday 11th April 1867

From Mr. McCalman's description of the country and taking into consideration the state of the camels feet which have lately been getting very tender so much so that it is a question if I got on to the southern water-shed whether they would be able to come back without a spell of a month or two, moreover not knowing of any water I could depend upon for any length of time this side of Camp XXV together with my own blindness determines me to return and bearing in mind that the Ladies demand I shall always have a safe retreat

Colin McIntyre prospected a small creek for gold and was successful in getting the colour, as it is called in gold diggers phraseology, twice but altogether I do not consider the prospect about here favourable for gold Bar 29 5½ Ther 92F shade Midday

Friday 12th April 1867

Followed down Dougall to gorge about three miles east by north. From the top of the range which come bluff in here a mountain being peculiar from its having one single tree growing on its top bears 45, A conical hill 64 A flat topped mountain 70, A mountain with a small sugar-loaf-like hill on the top 130 and a high conical hill in the basin above the gorge 195

Saturday 13th April 1867

Passing through the gorge bearing generally north-east we left the bed of the river and crossing some stoney ridges we were lucky enough to fall in with a small strip of open stoney gydia which was much better travelling until we arrived at a creek timbered with box crossing which we were again on rough stoney ridges or sandy country with quartz surfacing and spinifex lightly timbered with stunted apple leafed gums and bloodwood until we arrived at Camp 29 which is now also 33

Sunday 14th April 1867

Camped

Monday 15th April 1867

Bearing a little to the east of north and passing over very similar to that travelled yesterday we came to Camp 28 which now also 34

Tuesday 16th April 1867

Followed along track to within one mile of Camp 27 and camped on a water hole in the Dougall The north end of McIntyres Range bears 270 and is distant about four miles

Wednesday 17th April 1867

Followed along track to Camp 25 which is now also Camp 36

Thursday 18th April 1867

Crossed on to the William to Camp 12 but there being now no water we followed down our old track to Camp 11 which is now also Camp 37 I notice that although we were much put about by rain on the Dougall scarcely any has fallen on the country travelled to day since we passed over it before

Friday 19th April 1867

Travelling a little to the south of east we passed over well grassed plains sometimes lightly timbered with acaciae At four miles we arrived at a billybong of the Cloncurry and another mile over sandy soil timbered with blood and gums brought us to the river which we crossed, it being here a broad dry sandy channel We followed down the river about three miles and camped

Saturday 20th April 1867

Today we followed down the Cloncurry about three miles east and striking a deep creek from the south we recrossed the Cloncurry to get round it and camped on the west bank of the river

Sunday 21st April 1867

Camped

Monday 22nd April 1867

Re-crossed the Cloncurry and travelling generally east passed over about six miles of desert country (hard sandy soil with decayed ant-hills and spinifex lightly timbered with stunted apple leafed gums and occasional blood and bohemian trees) alternatively with loomey plains and arrived at a box creek having a good frontage generally of about two miles in width on both sides Crossing the creek and going over about five miles more of desert country we came on to gydia scrub and crossing a small creek travelled over four miles of desert country when we again came on to gydia

scrub which continued for about three miles at times being so dense that we had great difficulty in getting the camels through it Keeping our easterly course we followed down a water course the gydia receding on either side, The water course seemed to lose itself on a plain and four miles from where we emerged from the gydia we struck the Western Creek and camped about four miles below Camp 3

Tuesday 23rd April 1867

Travelled up the Western Creek five miles over well grassed plains a good deal subject to inundation, In the afternoon Mr. McCalman with Myola started after a bullock to kill and returned at sundown with the bullock and two of Mr. Donald McIntyres black boys whom he had met being out for the same purpose

Wednesday 24th April 1867

Jerking meat, I wrote to Mr Donald McIntyre of our whereabouts and intentions and send the letter to him by his black boys

Thursday 25th April 1867

Camped at 41 jerking meat

Friday 26th April 1867

Camped at 41 Mr Donald McIntyre arrived

Saturday 27th April 1867

Dr. White started with Mr Donald McIntyre for that gentlemans station with instructions to return tomorrow as we make a fresh start on Monday

Sunday 28th April 1867

Camped—Dr. White returned from Mr McIntyre

Monday 29th April 1867

Travelling a little to the west of south up the west side of Western Creek for one mile when we crossed a tributary from the west Bearing then generally south in three miles we had crossed the Western Creek and its billybongs to the high well grassed plains on the east side Continuing the same course in four miles we arrived at Camp 2 and we camped on the creek about 500 yds 320 from that Camp

Tuesday 30th April 1867

Crossing on a bearing of 160 the billybong on which is situated Camp 2 we travelled five miles south over gently undulating plains well-grassed and with an abundance of herbage but all getting dry The country gets much higher as we proceed,

Camped on the east side of Western Creek and branded a tree LE

XLIII

B

Wednesday 1st May 1867

For about three miles we travelled a little to the east of south over high undulations covered to a great extent with lime stones and not possessing such good pasturage as the country passed over yesterday, Observing the creek was coming more from the west we changed bearing to the west of south After five miles travelling over similar country we struck a billybong of the creek and noticing the dry appearance of it we changed our bearing a little to the north of west to cross the creek and its billybong, At about one mile we arrived at the main channel and found it to be dry narrow sandy channel but we were encouraged to proceed but observing that blacks had lately been in the neighbourhood Desiring the party to halt, Mr McCalman Myola and myself started in search of water We soon found a large hole in a billybong with a small quantity of water but not considering it sufficient for us Mr McCalman crossed the creek to follow a western billybong whilst Myola and myself followed up an eastern one We shortly came on a large black's camp recently left and a large hole in the billybong with sufficient water. I started Myola to fetch up the camels but before they arrived Mr McCalman returned and informing me he had found good water in the western billybong when the camels came up we proceeded there, camped and branded a tree LE

XLIV

B

Thursday 2nd May 1867

The party remained encamped, Mr McCalman Myola and myself started up the west side of the creek on a general bearing of 270 The creek is a narrow dry channel timbered with box and gum and having a bed of quicksand On both sides there are good billybongs generally timbered with box or gydia.

Friday 3rd May 1867

Travelling generally west up the Western Creek over stoney well grassed undulations At four miles we passed some small lime stone hills of very picturesque description, Three miles farther we struck a billybong of the creek and camped From the high undulations running parallel with the creek on its west side the mountains are to be seen to the south and south east and the line of McIntyre's track running north

Further search should be made over the range on to the south western water shed but before we could arrive there the contract time would have expired and moreover the camels feet in consequence of their late trip in the mountains are so tender that it would be necessary to spell them some time before they would be fit for rough travelling Tree branded LE

XLV
B

Saturday 4th May 1867

Leaving the party encamped, I accompanied by Dr White started for the depot camp prior to bringing in the party

Sunday 5th May 1867

Leaving the Dr at the Depot Camp I returned to the party

Monday 6th May 1867

Travelling nor east generally over high well grassed undulations sometimes stoney principally country that has elsewhere been described in twenty miles we struck the Gilliott and camped

Tuesday 7 May 1867

Travelled 1 mile north and then nor nor east across the Gilliott and its billybongs and passing over a plain on the same bearing in three miles we arrived at the Eastern Creek. Over undulations for six miles and then we crossed the Middle Creek, six miles farther over similar country we arrived at the Depot Camp

Since our return to the Depot Camp Mr. McCalman and Myola followed up Eastern Creek over high downs for about 60 miles S.S.E. I with another horse party crossed to Camp 1 situated on the Gilliott and followed down that watercourse to its junction with the Cloncurry We then followed down these rivers conjoined on its east side to opposite the junction of the William, we then crossed the Cloncurry and followed it up to camp 39.

About the watercourses followed by the party I may mention that the Dougall is a large sandy channel timbered with large gums cabbage palms and teatrees having on its bank bohemia fig and bloodwood trees About our 18 Camp it breaks into a number of small channels and before long loses its sandy bed having one of loamy quicksand and loam and is timbered with box indiarubber trees & gydia which continue to its junction with the William

The Jenny is a small sandy channel timbered with from Camp 13 to Camp 25 when it breaks

into many channels, the beds becomes loamy and it is timbered with box and gydia & indiarubber trees to its junction with the William

The William is a large sandy channel timbered with large gums cabbage palms tea trees having on its banks bohemia fig and a few beef wood trees it retains its sandy bed & character to its junction with the Cloncurry & Gilliott (conjoined)

The Cloncurry is a similar channel rather larger

The Eastern Creek is a loamy channel having scarcely any timber; what there is, is a little worthless box

The Western Creek at Camp 45 has one channel timbered with box possessing a bed of loamy quicksand together with with good billybong it loses its sandy channel between Camp 2 & 3.

The Gilliott from Camp 1 to its junction with the Cloncurry is a creek of many channel principally timbered with box

The water courses mentioned are confluent streams but the junction of any does not increase the size of the recipient, the sandy channel near Palmers Sheep Station not being so large as either of the channels of the William the Cloncurry or the Dougall fifty miles up.

(sgd) Wm. Fred Barnett

Leader

27th May 1867.

The names of the William and Jeannie Rivers have not survived. Barnett speaks of the junction of the Dougall (sic) and the William, but it is hard to reconcile this with the text of the diary. The William appears to join the Cloncurry River south of where the Dugald joins it and not to be connected with the Dugald at all. If however the William is the Corella River of today, then it might be so.

The text of the diary has been left unaltered; for example the spelling of Leichhardt with one 'h' and a few other incorrect spellings. Also distances have been left in imperial measurements and temperatures in the fahrenheit scale.

It has not been sought to alter the punctuation, particularly in regard to the absence of full stops, but inadvertently some may have crept in.

On Saturday 16 February Barnett pays tribute to 'our much lamented and talented leader Duncan McIntyre'. He was a loyal soul.

On 28 March with Wildish and McCalman sick and unable to travel, Barnett rode in about 60 miles to the depot camp so he could send in a progress report to the Ladies' Committee. Another reference to the Ladies is on 11 April, where he says that they demand he shall always have a safe

retreat; that is to say he should not go beyond a point of no return. Lastly on 3 May he decided not to progress further to the southwest, as before he could arrive at the watershed the contract time would have expired. He did not seem to have any doubts about his accountability to the Ladies' Committee.

In the period between 7 and 27 May Barnett and McCalman examined the watercourses in the vicinity of the depot camp both to the north and the south, covering several hundred miles in the process.

The final result was that no further traces of Leichhardt were to be found in the area of the search. The expedition was at an end.

FATE'S LAST BLOWS

Once the expedition was officially terminated Barnett began to find out who really were his friends and supporters.

In the first place when acceding to Donald Campbell's request to return to Carpentaria, Barnett understood that his ultimate appointment was to rest with Donald McIntyre in Dalgonally.

However, his consent to go back was on the following conditions:

- (i) In the event of his not taking charge of the party, he should receive his expenses to Carpentaria and back to Victoria, with fair remuneration for his loss of time; but
- (ii) If he was appointed leader he was to be paid his expenses 'going and returning' and the compensation for his services, although left an open question until his return, was to be 'ample and satisfactory'.

Barnett arrived at the depot camp on 29 November 1866. Donald McIntyre was absent and did not return until 22 December, when he acquiesced in the appointment of Barnett as leader.

On Barnett's return with the party to the depot camp on 7 May 1867 he received a letter from Dr Mueller requesting him to continue the expedition for a longer period than that which had been contracted for. With this request he could not comply as Donald McIntyre was not agreeable.

On Barnett requesting Donald McIntyre to give him £50 to pay his expenses to Victoria this request was refused. McIntyre told Barnett he would pay him only from the time he was appointed (22 December 1866) at the rate of £200 per annum.

Also, and this was, perhaps, the unkindest cut of all, McIntyre said that he supposed Barnett 'had come over, like any other man, for the job'. He then proceeded to debit Barnett £25 for a horse

and £10 for tobacco for which Barnett had chosen not to charge the members of the party considering they were entitled to be supplied with that item. As a result Barnett was left with £37.15s. He had to borrow £12.5s from McIntyre, for which he had to give his note of hand, to enable him to get back to Victoria.

On his return to Melbourne Barnett immediately visited Donald Campbell and requested a settlement. Campbell told him he could do nothing until he had seen the Ladies' Committee, but at Barnett's request advanced him £20. Campbell asked Barnett to call on Dr Mueller, but the doctor was too unwell to see him. However, Mueller sent a message to Barnett to call on Mrs Tierney, the honorary secretary of the Ladies' Committee, who told Barnett that the ladies had nothing to do with Mr Campbell's arrangements.

Barnett saw Campbell again; the latter said that any moneys paid would be out of his own pocket and he could not think of giving Barnett more than £25, which, with the £20 already advanced, would pay his expenses from Carpentaria. That was all Barnett received.

He had returned to the family home at Rowan Street, Sandhurst. From there he wrote on 12 August 1867 to the Ladies' Committee seeking a just settlement, as he had failed to receive one from Donald Campbell and Donald McIntyre on whose honour he had relied. Mrs Tierney responded on 20 August. She said she would place his letter before the next meeting of the committee in mid-September, but did not think that it would interfere in any monetary transaction between Messrs. Campbell and Barnett.

After some procrastination on the part of the ladies, they, in a letter (18 October 1867) signed by Mrs Tierney told Barnett they could not entertain his claim as they had contracted out the management of the expedition to Donald Campbell, who alone was responsible to Barnett. In any event the ladies no longer had any funds at their disposal.

Barnett's gullibility seems to have stemmed from his hero worship of Duncan McIntyre. Campbell and Donald McIntyre would have known of the admiration he had for Duncan and seem to have taken advantage of this. Barnett does not appear to have been informed until after the expedition was completed and he had returned to Victoria that the ladies had contracted out the balance of the expedition to Donald Campbell. He seems to have been under the impression that Campbell and Donald McIntyre were acting as advisors to the ladies, whereas they were in fact sub-contractors who had taken over the

responsibility of the ladies' committee towards the expedition and its members. Obviously they did not want to lose money from their contract. The ladies were remiss also in that when confirming his appointment as leader of the remainder of the expedition they did not tell Barnett that he was not their financial responsibility.

On 21 September 1867 Mr Thomas Dicker of St. Kilda wrote to the *Argus* about circumstances which had recently come to his knowledge through an acquaintanceship with the family of the late Dr Barnett (Adolphus had died on 14 February 1867 aged 54 years). (36)

Dicker, after setting out the terms of Barnett's appointment as already related, strongly put forward Barnett's claims and enclosed all the correspondence between him and the ladies. He also made the point that any reports sent in by Barnett had been 'suppressed'.

When publishing the correspondence the *Argus* added an editorial note saying all the correspondence had been received some weeks before, but had been held over in consequence of Dr Mueller being absent at King George Sound. As a result of the holdover Barnett's letter of 1 October to the ladies requesting a reply to his earlier letters and the ladies' reply of 18 October, already referred to, were published as well. (37)

The day after Dicker's letter with all enclosures was published a lengthy letter from Dr Mueller appeared. The doctor reiterated that the Ladies' Committee had entered into an agreement with Duncan McIntyre for a two year search for Leichhardt. Before a year elapsed McIntyre was dead of fever in an area not previously known to be unhealthy. Mr Sloman, who was unknown to the committee, but McIntyre's appointee as second in command, then became leader of the party, but died soon after from sunstroke in the vicinity of Burketown, an area where traces of Leichhardt were not likely to be found. The Ladies' Committee, to keep faith with supporters, decided to keep the search party in the field for the remainder of the two years. They contracted out to Mr Donald Campbell of Glengower the balance of the time. It was Campbell's sole responsibility that Barnett was entrusted with the leadership for the remaining time and this arrangement met with the concurrence of Donald McIntyre who, from his Gulf Station, supervised the expedition. Mueller says Sloman's post easily could have been filled before Barnett ever arrived at Carpentaria. By reason of the contract process the Ladies' Committee had no responsibility, monetary or otherwise, towards any member of the party. They

felt on the other hand they were entitled to some real field work during the winter of 1867 to compensate for all the delays at the Gulf camps. They had hoped for an examination of all the Gulf rivers and not merely some eastern waters. There had been deep disappointment when the search party returned after 'two months of easy travel'. The reports from an area so limited and already so well known were documents so devoid of importance that it would have been unfair to have sought newspaper space for them. Mueller had kept them so that they might be used in some final report, but would recommend now that they be returned.

Dr Mueller asserted that the ladies had dealt most generously with the contracting gentlemen. Thus the severe loss 60 horses resulting from an incautious but very courageous movement during an extended drought, a movement over which the committee had no control and which ruined the expedition, nevertheless resulted in a £500 supplement of the contract sum being granted.

The doctor lamented that after two years exertions of the ladies, 'maintained bravely under great difficulties and discouragements', their operations were now being made the subject of public controversy. He promised a full accounting of the expedition expenditure would be made to the public.

He also expressed anxiety that the ill-starred enterprise might become the topic of public discussion to an extent which could discourage reorganisation of the expedition, seeing that the camels were now available at Carpentaria. This would subdue a chivalrous spirit for exploration and, above all, poor Leichhardt again would be abandoned to his fate. (38)

Dicker had said:

It would almost appear that mismanagement and blundering are fated to attend every exploring expedition equipped from this colony of Victoria the proposition to enlist the services of a leader in Victoria for such an expedition and then to offer to pay him off in that heartless huckstering fashion at one of the ends of the earth is certainly as preposterous as one can well conceive. But this does not appear to be the only point on which the management of the expedition had blundered. Mr. Barnett recopied Mr. Slowman's (sic) journal and forwarded it to head quarters— that has been suppressed. On another occasion he rode in seventy miles to send a report; and on a third occasion, on the return of the expedition to the depot, he journeyed 130 miles in three days to catch the Burdekin mail to forward another report, both of which reports were also suppressed.

.. It might be said of Dr Mueller's letter, in which he sought to reply to Dicker's allegations,

that he did protest too much and was inclined to fog clear-cut issues with emotive statements.

The *Argus* seems to have had his measure, though; in a leading article on the following Friday it was said that the correspondence published on the previous Monday (Dicker with enclosures) and Tuesday (Mueller) showed, if it did nothing else, the relative value attached by some people to a live Englishman and a dead German. The leader writer traversed the whole sorry story. He praised Barnett's courage and endurance:

they seem to indicate that Mr. Barnett is made of the right stuff, and possesses the hardihood and endurance so essential to success in the work of exploration.

He went on to say that the laying of the affair before the public had resulted in a reply from Dr Mueller, but not a confutation. The doctor seemed to be of the opinion that Barnett was fortunate that the leadership of the expedition, with its munificent stipend, was not filled up before Barnett could arrive at Carpentaria. The doctor was taken to task for deprecating the labours of the search party (as 'two months easy travel'), suppressing the journals forwarded to him and not allowing the newspaper editors to form their own opinions as to their worth. As regards the £500 so generously awarded to the contractor for the loss of sixty horses, might not a similar sympathetic feeling have been extended to the leader who brought back his party intact, whose sight was irreparably injured by the hardships he had undergone and who was incapacitated from obtaining any employment in consequence?

The *Argus* no less than Dr Mueller had a genuine anxiety about the fate of 'poor Leichhardt', but it also felt some anxiety for the health and safety of living men and for the just recompense of those who had already engaged in the search for Leichhardt.

The leading article concluded on a note of inquiry —

We are far from agreeing with the Government Botanist, "that this ill-starred enterprise should not become the topic of public discussion", because it is only by such discussion that the public are likely to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to the wisdom and propriety of persevering in these disastrous expeditions. The time is arriving when we should ask ourselves this question — Is it expedient to continue explorations of which other colonies reap the solid advantages, and from which we obtain nothing but barren honour? At the sacrifice of their own lives, and at an enormous cost to Victoria, Burke and Wills opened up a tract of magnificent country from Cooper's Creek to the Gulf of Carpentaria. It was

shortly afterwards incorporated with Queensland, and is now being rapidly occupied by the squatters of that colony. We pull the chestnuts out of the fire, and they eat them; and we may reasonably ask ourselves whether we cannot find more profitable employment for our surplus cash and superfluous energies. (39)

This was hardly conducive to the encouragement of further searches being mounted for Leichhardt and no doubt thoroughly mortified Dr Mueller. However, he had been less than pragmatic in his approach to the whole Leichhardt Search Expedition and its aftermath and was not undeserving of the criticisms levelled by Dicker and the *Argus*.

W.E.P. Giles wrote from Mount Murchison on 23 December 1867 deploring the implied accusation that the affairs of the expedition had been mismanaged by Dr Mueller. He felt if Dr Mueller accused Mr Barnett of having failed in his duties, the doctor would have good grounds for so doing, or he would not have made the accusation. Mr Giles, 'as a personal friend' of Dr Mueller requested the publication this letter,

especially as I know, and doubtless you are as well aware, that since the committee first agreed with Mr. McIntyre, Dr. Mueller's self-imposed duties with regard to the expedition have produced to him no mental sinecure (40)

Giles, on his own admission, was hardly an unbiassed commentator!

As is not unusual, the sound and the fury seem to have died down after each protagonist had had his say. No record can be found, after Giles' letter to the *Australasian*, of any other reference to the controversy in any other 1868 newspaper. There is no evidence that Barnett gained any pecuniary satisfaction, although his honour and his leadership capabilities had been defended by the *Argus*. He is not on record as having undertaken any further journals of exploration; no doubt his health prevented that.

Barnett, in his twenties, was an unsettled type of person. His dislike of a desk job was made obvious in his letter to his Aunt Eliza Newman in 1864. The outdoor life seemed to suit him. Yet he had to assume the role of a knight errant. The combination of idealism and naivete made him fair game for the dour, hard headed entrepreneurship of the McIntyres and Campbells of this world. He ruined his health and his economic prospects because of his loyalty to Duncan McIntyre, both before and after the latter's death. Barnett's disregard for his own material interests in comparison with honour and devotion make him a quixotic figure in the

immediate aftermath of the expedition; his tilting at windmills was no more successful than that of Don Quixote.

On 19 October 1869 at St. Lukes Church of England, Emerald Hill, South Melbourne, at the age of 28 years he married Charlotte Harris (a widow since 22 January 1868) aged 32 years. The bride was the mother of three surviving children, a fourth having died before her second marriage. Mrs Harris was a licensed victualler and like her bridegroom normally resided at Sandhurst. Barnett gave his occupation as 'explorer', but he roamed no more. (41)

He settled down as landlord of the Crown Hotel, Hargreaves Street, Bendigo (as Sandhurst now came to be called). His privations between 1864 and 1867 continued to tell on his health. The delicate boy may have grown into the hardy backwoodsman, but even the latter had limits to the extent to which he could punish his body with poor diet, untreated fevers, eye disease and alternately roasting and steaming in the unrelenting climate of the lands below the Gulf of Carpentaria.

A combination of liver disease (acute hepatitis) and epilepsy carried him off, at the age of 37 years, on 18 March 1879 and he was buried at Back Creek Cemetery, Bendigo on 19 March. (Fig. 7). It will be noted that under his name on the tombstone the words '(late explorer)' appear.

He was survived by his widow and two of the three children of their marriage. The third had predeceased him in her infancy. The remaining two



FIG 7. The tombstone of William Frederic Barnett in the Back Creek Cemetery, Bendigo. Under his name appear the words 'late explorer'.

children were both daughters, so he left no male issue. (42)

His obituary recounted his exploring trips and quoting from a *Riverine Herald* report (43) on the end result of the Leichhardt Search Expedition said:

We believe that a greater mistake was never made by any leader [Duncan McIntyre]. Had Mr. Barnett been given a command, the frightful disaster at Cooper's Creek might have been averted. At all events it was due to his exertions in a great measure that worse results did not follow. (44)

Among those who knew him his reputation was not diminished by death; his judgment again was vindicated by contemporary opinion, but the recognition he deserved still eluded him.

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- (2) 'Our First Half Century'. Government of Queensland, Brisbane 1909. pp. xxi-xxiv, 162-163.
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- (5) *Government Statist*, Victoria. Death Entry 3556/1867.
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- (14) *Australasian* 18 February 1865.
- (15) *Australasian* 4 March 1865.
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- (17) *Australasian* 27 May 1865.



FIG 8. In December 1986 Mr. K.C. Leslie received an addition to the Corfield papers from Epsom in Surrey, which included some more Barnett material. One of the photographs, undated and simply marked *Australia* on the reverse, shows what is obviously an exploring party. The second European from the right resembles closely the photograph of Duncan McIntyre. The young man on his right, holding a camel halter, could be Barnett who was the most junior member of the party. Lacking positive evidence the identification of any person in the photograph must be treated as pure conjecture.

- (18) Reprinted in the *Australasian* 6 May 1865.
 (19) *Australasian* 27 May 1865.
 (20) *Australasian* 12 June 1865.
 (21) *Australasian* 1 July 1865.
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 (23) *Australasian* 5 August 1865.
 (24) Queensland State Archives (QSA) Gov/24 p. 333. Despatch 52 8/8/1865.
 (25) *The Argus* (Melb.) 2 December 1867.
 (26) *Age* 30 May 1866, *The Weekly Herald* (Brisbane) 9 June 1866.
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 (32) Palmer, *op. cit.* p. 80. Fysh, *op. cit.* p. 22. Blainey, *op. cit.* p. 9. Black J. (Comp.) 'North Queensland Pioneers' (Charters Towers n.d. ?1934) p. 74. *Age* 24 July 1866.
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 (39) *The Argus* 6 December 1867.
 (40) *Australasian* 11 January 1868.
 (41) *Government Statist*, Victoria Marriage Entry 3603/1869.
 (42) *Government Statist*, Victoria Death Entry 2971/1879.
 (43) *Riverine Herald* 7 December 1867.
 (44) *Bendigo Advertiser* 19 March 1879.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

That I was able to complete this paper to something approaching my own satisfaction was due to the help of a number of people.

First of all, Dr W.E. Savige of Camberwell, Victoria, who carried out research for me and who investigated W.F. Barnett successfully from the somewhat sparse details I was able to give him.

It was Dr Savige who put me in touch with Mr. D.K. Muir of Balgowlah, N.S.W., who has been researching the Barnett family for his friend, Mr K.C. Leslie, Education Officer at the West Sussex Records Office, Chichester, England and a Barnett

descendant. As a result I had put at my disposal the Barnett family tree compiled by Mr Muir with much other information. This included the copy of the invaluable letter from Barnett to his aunt, Eliza Newman, which Mr Leslie kindly gave permission to be used. Mr. Leslie also furnished the interesting photograph reproduced here as Fig. 8.

The Director and staff of the Queensland Museum and the State Librarian, New South Wales and his Mitchell Librarian and staff all endeavoured to find the provenance of the W.F.

Barnett diary, held by the Queensland Museum, which provided the basis for this paper.

The John Oxley Librarian made a valuable contribution, when, by chance, he purchased a map showing McIntyre's route from the Darling to the Gilliatt River. From notations on this we found it had been torn out of a copy of Justus Perthes Geographical Bulletin for 1867 and this in turn led me to the relevant issues of the *Age* in which McIntyre's posthumously compiled and edited journal had appeared.

My thanks are extended to all of them.